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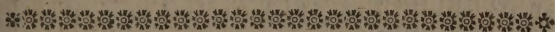
V O L. III.

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MDCCLVI.

A
C O L L E C T I O N
O F
V O Y A G E S.



VOYAGES for the DISCOVERY
of FLORIDA.

C H A P. V.

Soto's brigantines are brought round to Apalachen; and Maldonado is sent with one of them upon a cruize: some presents are sent to the Havannah: Soto receives intelligence of a very rich country governed by a woman; for which he sets out: the dress and buildings of the natives of Toalli described: Soto erects a cross at Achese, and receives assistance from the cacique of Ocute: dogs more valuable than sheep and good food: the Spaniards treated with great humanity: an odd dream of an Indian, who there-upon turns Christian.

AS the governor had laid aside any further thoughts of returning to the bay of the Holy Ghost, he sent John Danusco with thirty horse, to order the brigantines which he had left there to the port of Aute, not far from Apalachen, and to desire Calderon, who

VOL. III. B had

had been left to guard the place, to march by land to join him.

John Danusco performed his commission with great expedition, having some slight skirmishes with the natives, with little loss, and, embarking on board one of the brigantines, arrived soon at Apalachen; as did also Calderon, who had traversed the country; to the great joy of Soto, who sent Maldonado to make a two months cruize along the coast to the westward, and mark exactly all the ports, creeks, harbours and capes that he should meet in his course.

This injunction Maldonado performed very exactly, bringing an account of a fine harbour called Ochus; with which intelligence Soto dispatched him to the Havannah, together with a present of twenty women slaves to his wife, of whom he much desired to hear news; also with orders to lay in a stock of provision, and meet him at the new discovered port of Ochus, which he was determined to visit by land, and if he did not find that he came that summer, then he desired him to return with the ship to the Havannah, and wait till the ensuing summer, when, if he came back, he should not fail to meet him.

Among the Indian prisoners, there was one in the hands of the treasurer, who was brought before the governor on account of his having often been heard to say, he was not a native of the province wherein he was taken, but that he came from a very distant region towards the rising-sun; which he had left very young to traffic; that it was governed by a woman, and was called Cofachiqui; that the capital city was very large, and many neighbouring lords paid tribute to their queen, in fine cloths, pearl, gold, and other precious commodities: but what was most wonderful in this

young

young man, was, that he not only knew how the gold was dug out of the mine, but was also acquainted with the manner of melting and refining it.

This account, which was not in the least doubted, had such an effect upon the avarice and curiosity of the Spaniards, that they longed to march thither; and no sooner did the Spring of 1540 appear, than they left the province of Apalachen, and set forward for Cofachiqui; every man carrying maiz for his own provision for some days; most of their Indian prisoners being weak and sickly, therefore not able to carry burthens. The fourth day of their journey they were stopped by a deep river; however, some of their best swimmers gaining the opposite side, made fast a rope from bank to bank, which served as a guide to a raft that carried over the rest of the army. On the 12th of March five Spaniards going to reconnoitre an Indian town called Capachiqui, were set upon by the Indians, who killed one, and sorely wounded three others; the fifth making his escape, alarmed the camp; on which the Indians retired into the woods, whither it was not possible to follow them.

On the 21st of this month they came to a town called Toalli, where they found a difference in the buildings, which, in all other places that they had passed, were covered with straw, but here were roofed with reeds. The Indians here have houses for winter, and houses for summer; the latter having their fire-place wherein they bake their bread, and do other things necessary in a kitchen, detached from the rest of the building; but the walls of the former are well plaistered with clay, both within and without, the door is very small, fitted only to admit one person, and shut close at night, when a good fire is kindled in the midst of the house,

so that it is as warm as a stove: the apartment wherein they keep their maiz, is floored with cane hurdle, and raised from the ground upon four stakes, to preserve it from the wet.

The houses of the principal men are larger than the others, adorned with galleries in their fronts, which serve as canopies to cane seats fixed beneath, for the masters to spend the evening. Near them stand lofts, in which they lay up for use such presents as are brought them by the Indians, as maiz, deer-skins, and mantles that look something like blankets, and are made of a flax composed of the inward bark of a tree, and a species of nettles; with these the women cover themselves, girding one round the waste, and throwing another over the shoulders, with the right-hand thrust out: the men wear only one of these about their shoulders; and they cover their privities with a deer-skin, which they dye of different colours, as red, black, &c. and this part they are such masters of, that they make them look like cloth in grain: they make a sort of shoes of this skin.

Soto left this place the 24th of March; and the following day Benito Fernandez, a Portuguese, was drowned in passing a small river: after this accident they came to a town called Achese, where the Indians fled to avoid them; but some few who were made prisoners, and released after being civilly used, told the cacique of it, who, thereupon, visited Soto in person, ordered his people provisions, and supplied him with a guide to Ocute, a neighbouring province, the cacique of which was very rich and powerful; but before he left Achese, he erected a large wooden-cross in the market-place, which he ordered them to reverence, being, as he told them, put up in honour of the Creator of the world, who lost his life on a cross for the redemption of mankind. At Ocute he was well received by the cacique,

cique, who sent 2000 Indians to attend him, with presents of maiz, two hens, and some dogs, which were as welcome a gift as if they had been fat sheep, for they had long been strangers to the taste of flesh-meat, so that a dog afforded many dainty morsels : before they left this place the cacique presented them with 200 tamenes, or Indians to carry burdens, which were singularly serviceable to them.

The country, thro' which they had passed for some time, was fruitful and well watered, forming in most places a beautiful landscape, and the people behaving with great civility and hospitality, particularly in one place, where, as they approached, the inhabitants demanded whether they intended peace or war ; and when they assured them they meant no hostility, they were conducted to good quarters, and plentifully furnished with refreshments.

Their next stage was Cofachi, the cacique of which came out to meet the Spaniards, quartering them in his principal town, and retiring to a neighbouring village to make room for them ; supplying them with maiz, and other necessaries, sufficient to subsist them for seven days journey, it being so far to Cofachiqui ; also ordering 4000 tamenes to carry their baggage, and 4000 others, in arms, to assist and defend them. The cacique was thus ambitious of serving Soto, in hopes of his making war for him upon the people of Cofachiqui, who were his enemies ; and the latter in some measure promised to espouse his quarrel, in consequence of which he was presented with a rich sable mantle, which the cacique took, for that purpose, from his own shoulders, and is a peculiar distinction paid only to the greatest people.

About this time the native of Cofachiqui, who had first given them information of that country,

and induced them to set out in search of it, being terribly frightened with a dream, in which he imagined the devil beat him for guiding the Spaniards thither, begged to be made a christian; and being accordingly baptized by the name of Peter, was no longer ranked among the slaves, but allowed to sit on horseback, that he might thereby be the better enabled to recover his strength, which was much exhausted in his contest with the evil spirit.

C H A P. VI.

Soto with his army marches forward to Cofachiqui, but loses his way in a desert: a plentiful territory discovered: Soto's new allies are dismissed for their cruelty: he at length arrives at Cofachiqui, after having had a conference with the queen, who gives him a rich necklace: the delicacy of an Indian nobleman, who cuts his throat: deceived in their hope of finding gold in this country.

SOTO putting his 4000 armed allies first, and after them the baggage, brought up the rear with his Spaniards, and thus began his march for Cofachiqui, taking up his quarters at night apart, and keeping a very strict look-out, because of having so many Indians in his army. The third day after their leaving Cofachi they entered the desert, in which they marched six days; but on the seventh they missed their way, nor did the Indians know how to guide them, the cacique honestly confessing that none of his people had ever been at Cofachiqui, but that they often met the natives of it on the banks of a neighbouring river, where they had some disputes about the fishery. There was so much simplicity, and such an appearance of undissimbled honesty, in his manner of telling this circum-

cumstance, that Soto, who, at his first being led astray, had some suspicion of sinister dealing, now entirely changed his opinion.

The governor encouraging his men, however, the best he could, continued his march till he came to the banks of a river, which was not fordable, and as his provisions could not hold out till floats could be made, he ordered out four parties of his people, each attended by a thousand Indians, to discover the country. That which was commanded by John Danusco came up with a populous town, in which was found good store of provisions; with an account of which an express was dispatched to Soto; who advanced thither with his people as fast as possible. But, before he arrived, the Indians had fallen upon, and murdered, the inhabitants in the night, besides plundering a temple, which was a burial place; a method of proceeding that irritated Soto so very much, that he refused to be any further seconded by them; and absolutely insisted on their returning to their own province; which injunction the cacique at length obeyed; and they departed, not at all displeased, as they were well supplied with provisions, and some trifling presents distributed among their principal officers.

Soto proceeded by the river side, the country on all sides being very pleasant, but abandoned because of the cruelty committed by the natives of Cofachi. The van-guard, consisting of thirty horse, was led by John Danusco, who had orders to search out a fordable place; and in the night he discovered a light, and heard a dog bark; but, on a closer inspection, he found these belonged to a place on the other side the river; which, on the ensuing day, Soto sent a hundred men, with a christian Indian called Mark, and Peter the new convert, to reconnoitre. When they came opposite to it, Peter, who was a native of the place, hailed some per-

sons which he saw on the shore near the town. Soon after, six of the inhabitants crossed over in a canoe, who were received by the governor, he being by that time arrived, in a chair of state, which was carried among the baggage for extraordinary occasions.

When they came into his presence, having revered the sun and moon, they made him a low bow, and then inquired "whether he was for peace or war?" And to his answering "that he meant peace, and stood in need of provisions;" they replied, "he was welcome; that peace was their desire, but a plague which had lately raged amongst them had caused a scarcity of provisions, notwithstanding which they would communicate his request to their sovereign princess, who," they said, "was a maiden, and queen of all Cofachiqui."

With this remonstrance they took their leave of Soto, returned in their canoes, and in a few hours after two much larger appeared upon the river; in one of them were the six ambassadors; in the other, which was handsomely adorned, was a curious canopy, and beneath it, upon a matted floor, were two cushions, on which the princess herself reposed, attended by six ladies.

When she landed, the general advanced to receive her; and being both seated, she addressed the governor politely, saying, "That she was sorry, for the sake of him and his people, that provisions were so very scarce; however, she had two store-houses for the poor, one of which she submitted to his disposal; but begged that she might be permitted to keep the other, in consideration of the wants of her people." At the same time she told him, "she had 2000 measures of meal in a neighbouring town, which he might command; besides, if he thought it necessary,"

“fary, ſhe would quit her own houſe and city,
“to accommodate his men.”

To this declaration the general, who was enraptured with her affable and generous demeanor, answered, that he could not think of putting her to the inconveniency of changing her abode; that part of the town would ſerve him and his people; that he ſhould always retain a moſt grateful ſenſe of the favours conferred upon him, and that he would convince her of it, by making ſuch diſpoſitions, that neither ſhe, nor any of her ſubjects, ſhould have the leaſt room to complain of the moſt trivial miſbehaviour in him or any of his followers.

Then ſhe took a ſtring of pearls from her neck, and, by the hands of the interpreter, gave it to the governor, at the ſame time entreating he would not take it amiſs, that ſhe did not preſent it with her own hand, which ſhe was only reſtrained from, thro’ fear of its being thought a breach of modeſty. The governor riſing up, received and kiſſed it, as a mark of his reſpect; and in return preſented her with a very fine ruby, which he wore on his finger. After theſe ceremonies ſhe took her leave, having given the Spaniards a moſt advantageous impreſſion of her. And ſoon after her landing on the other ſide, canoes and floats were ordered for the army, on which it ſoon paſſed the river, and was quartered in the city.

The mother of this princeſs, who was a widow, and inhabited a town about twelve leagues from this, being invited to ſee the Spaniards, not only reſuſed to come, but ſent a ſevere meſſage to her daughter, for having given a reception, ſo very cordial, to perſons with whom ſhe had not the leaſt acquaintance. Soto, in hopes of mollifying this old lady, ſent John Danuſco, with a noble Indian, and a train of thirty horſemen, richly capariſoned, to repeat and enforce the invitation. On the journey they

all dismounted, and sat down to refresh themselves under the shade of a very large tree, where the Indian, who appeared very pensive, throwing off his mantle, drew all the arrows, one by one, out of his quiver, among which were some of very curious workmanship, and while the Spaniards were employed in examining them, he plunged one, pointed with flint like a dagger, into his throat, so very effectually that he instantly fell dead. The only reason they could give for this rash action, which gave them all vast surprize, was, their believing he preferred death to the danger of delivering a disagreeable message to the old lady; who, as John Danusco was soon after informed, had quitted her usual residence, and withdrawn, it was not well known whither; upon which he returned to the main body.

In the country of Cofachiqui they found a light mouldring sort of copper, which, from its bright colour, might, with the injudicious, have passed for gold, and led Peter into the mistake of gold being plenty here: however, they got a large quantity of pearl, having obtained leave to ransack the graves of the nobility, in which many valuable ones were interred with the dead; most of them were as large as peas, and the king's fifth weighed upwards of 500lb.

C H A P. VII.

They quit Gofachiqui, and march to Chalaque: a surprizing shower of hail falls: they are well received at Canasagua, and at other places: the honesty of a soldier rewarded: Soto manifests great presence of mind: the cacique of Coza's reception of him described: the vast stature of the cacique of Tascalusa and his family: a conspiracy against the Spaniards at Mavila.

IT appearing from the strictest inquiry, that there was no gold in this territory, Soto resolved upon marching farther up the country; and, for the greater conveniency of obtaining provisions, divided his army into two bodies, leading one himself, and giving the command of the other to Gallegos; the lady who had entertained him so generously, sending four of her principal subjects along with his army to direct their march, and influence the cacique of Guaxale, a neighbouring province to which they bent their course, to receive the Spaniards as friends and allies, otherwise to assure him of her enmity.

After a march of seven days, they entered Chalaque, a barren territory; the inhabitants of which go naked, are very mild, and generally lean, feeding on roots, herbs, and wild beasts, which they shoot with their arrows. Here they were almost killed by a shower of hail, every hailstone being as large as a pigeon's egg, but they were happily sheltered by the trees. The cacique of this place brought them two deer skins as a most valuable present; and the magistrate of the town presented them with two hens.

From hence they came in five days to Xaulla, where the horses being weak, they rested for some

time ; the country hereabouts was full of hills, and distant from Cofachiqui, as well they could compute, two hundred and fifty leagues : leaving this place, they continued their route thro' a varied landscape of groves, deserts, and pasture lands, generally well watered ; all which, by the manner of Soto's progress being marked in the English atlas, appears to be the tract now called Carolina.

As soon as they approached Guaxale, the cacique came out to receive them in an amicable manner, with three hundred hogs, which being in good order, were a valuable acquisition, where flesh meat was so very scarce ; and before they entered Canasaqua, a town a little farther on, they were met by twenty Indians loaded with mulberries, of which, together with nuts and plums, this country yields great plenty. Their next journey was to Chiaha, a town situated on an island in the midst of a large river, fordable on every side ; the cacique met them with fifteen Indians loaded with maiz, and assured them he had twenty barns full at their disposal ; he also informed them that, thirty leagues off, there was plenty of gold ; but some Spaniards, whom Soto sent to view it, brought back the mortifying news of its being copper.

In the neighbourhood of this island there were good oysters, that produced rich pearl, but the natives generally destroyed their lustre, laying them on the fire to open.

One of the soldiers in eating his dinner one day, found a pearl as big as a hazel nut, which he presented to the governor for his lady ; who not only generously refused the compliment, but also paid the king's fifth of its value being four hundred ducats out of his own pocket, as a reward for the soldier's honesty. In this place, they found gourds filled with

with oyl of walnut, being of a pleasant taste, also bears grease which looked like melted butter, and good honey, an uncommon sight hereabouts. The adjacent country was pleasant, and the fields well stocked with maiz. Here Soto rested thirty days to recruit his men and horses, which had been much fatigued with the heat of the weather, and ruggedness of the road. Being now joined by Gallegos, he marched northward towards Acofte, within sight of which town he pitched his camp, and went forward but indifferently attended to salute the cacique, who seemed inclined to be very friendly; but while he was in conference with him, the inhabitants provoked at the insolence of some of his people, who had rudely taken away some provisions, fell upon them with cudgels, and belaboured them very heartily: Soto having in some measure seen their imprudence, snatched up a cudgel himself, and assisted the Indians, who admiring his disinterested justice, immediately desisted.

So much presence of mind certainly saved a world of confusion; but the governor fearing the Indians might be tempted to serve up a second course of the same sort of fare, evacuated the territory of Acofte as speedily as possible, and took his route to Coza, a large fruitful country, where he was well received; and when he came in sight of the principal town, the cacique was brought out in his litter, borne upon mens shoulders, to receive him; he was richly dressed with a large sable mantle, reaching almost to his heels, and a beautiful diadem of various coloured feathers on his head; before him went several musicians playing on a sort of flute, and he was followed by more than one thousand of his subjects.

The country afforded good pasturage, and was well watered; besides, it yielded variety of plumbs,
several

several sorts of fine flavored grapes, the vines that bore them winding spontaneously about the trees, and excellent maiz; here the Spaniards were entertained with great hospitality, and the cacique invited Soto to winter, which he told him was his intention; but first he would go a little farther to examine the country, and provide for the convenience of trade, which was the occasion of his voyage.

Soto's principal design was to search for gold or silver mines, and he began to be very much vexed at not meeting with any; besides he resolved to pay another visit to the brigantines which he had left at Achusi, believing it to be the nearest port, tho' he was then within sixty leagues of that part of the sea of Carolina, now known by the name of Cape Fear, but of this he was entirely ignorant.

The cacique of Coza accompanied him to the borders of Tascalusa, where he took his leave, the people of that country being his enemies. On his entering the frontiers, he was met by the cacique's son, who, in his father's name, said he came to treat of peace; he was only eighteen years old, but not less than seven feet high; and behaved very respectfully, conducting them to his father's city, where they found the old gentleman, who was still taller than his son, sitting under a tent upon a mount, before his own door, surrounded by many of his officers, who kept an obedient distance; and over him was held an umbrella of deer skin, handsomely coloured black and white, and resembling taffata: he rose up and advanced twenty paces to receive the governor, whom he seated next to himself.

Soto left this place the third day after, and the cacique offering to conduct him part of the way, was mounted upon one of the tallest baggage-horses,

horses, notwithstanding which, his feet hung but a few inches from the ground. The first night of their march, they had but indifferent quarters; upon the banks of a river, which they passed the next day with some difficulty upon floats, there was a fullness about the Indians, that gave Soto room to suspect some mischief; and their abrupt answers to an inquiry made after two Spaniards who were missing, confirmed the suspicion. On which a party of horse was ordered to advance and view the next quarters, which were but five miles distant; and these returning, reported they had met no opposition, but that the town was better fortified than any thing they had hitherto seen in this part of the world; besides, under colour of attending the Spanish forces, vast numbers of Indians were met together.

Upon this intelligence, Soto advanced to the head of his army, and leading the van, which consisted of one hundred horse, and a hundred and fifty foot, came up to the town which was called Mavilla, about eight o'clock in the morning. Mavilla contained about eighty houses, each one large enough to afford quarters for a regiment of men; the whole was surrounded with large pieces of timber rammed deep into the ground, the void spaces between each were filled with a strong cement of earth and straw; and at proper distances were erected towers, with little holes to shoot thro'. There was a large square in the midst of the town, in which the cacique told Soto there was a house prepared for him and some of his people; and for the rest there were huts erected without the walls of the town. To this direction he answered, that he would dispose of his people when Lewis Moscoso his major-general came up. In the mean time, the cacique retired to a neighbouring dwelling-house, where there was then a meeting.

meeting of the principal Indian chiefs, and it afterwards appeared the entire destruction of the Spaniards was concerted.

C H A P. VIII.

A great battle between the Indians and Spaniards, in which the latter are victors : Soto proceeds towards the sea-coast, but quits it soon, for fear of his people deserting : passes a river near Chicoza, with some difficulty : the town is burned with fiery arrows ; and the Spaniards lose all their treasures and plunder : they defeat a strong body of Indians : they reach the river Mississippi, and are held in great veneration by the inhabitants.

SOTO, who, tho' not apprized, was yet jealous of their designs, ordered the horses to be kept ready saddled and bridled till all his forces came up ; in the mean time, he sent a person to deliver a message to the cacique, who was refused admittance to him, which the other pressing to obtain, the Indian who opposed him, exclaimed in an angry tone against him and the Spaniards ; and at the same moment levelled his bow at some two or three that were then passing by, but was prevented by Gallegos, who happening to come up just at that instant, cut him open from the neck to the waste, so that he fell dead without speaking.

Immediately every thing assumed the appearance of hostility and confusion ; and Soto and his attendants mounting their horses, retired regularly out of the town to join their brethren, the cacique pursuing them at the head of seven hundred men, who were all assembled almost in a moment ; but these were soon repulsed and drove back to the walls by a troop of horse supported by a body of musketeers, who followed close at their heels, and endeavoured

deavoured to enter the town with them ; but were prevented by a shower of arrows and stones which obliged them to halt ; and, in a few minutes after, a vigorous sally was made upon them from the town, which the Spaniards repulsed without breaking their ranks. They continued thus skirmishing for some time till the whole army came up, when the general dismounting advanced at the head of two hundred men armed with battle-axes, and began to cut down their gates and stakes ; when, after a very short labor, a sufficient breach being made, he mounted again, and entered the town at the head of a body of horse, which trampled down numbers of people that opposed them very courageously, but in a manner extremely disordered. What galled them most in this engagement, were the Indian-women supported here and there by some men, who threw stones and shot arrows at them from the galleries and tops of the houses ; to which they were at last obliged to set fire, and numbers perished miserably in the flames ; while others rushing out to escape, fell upon the swords of the Spaniards, so that there was a very terrible slaughter.

This battle was fought on St. Luke's day, being the 18th of October 1540 ; it lasted nine hours, when about sun-set the Indians were entirely defeated, eleven hundred of them killed, and amongst them the cacique's son, and it was thought the cacique himself perished in the flames ; some women, who were made prisoners, declared that their husbands had been summoned hither to share the spoils of the Spaniards, of whose destruction they were sure, and that all the women round the country had been invited to assist at a magnificent feast which was to have been made, consequential to it, in honour of the sun. Of the Spaniards forty eight were killed on the spot, thirty five died soon

foon after of their wounds, and forty five horses were loft.

Soto remained in Mavilla a fortnight after this battle, to observe the disposition of the natives; but the flower of the people having been cut off therein, there was not the least attempt made to revenge their deaths, and provisions were brought in with great submission, and in plenty. Soon after a party, that had been sent out to view the country towards the sea, brought advice that Maldonado was still making discoveries upon the coast. This intelligence determined Soto to march as far as the mouth of the river Alibamous, having a great inclination to settle a colony at Anchusi; but he quitted that coast soon, being afraid that his people, who were not in the best humour imaginable, would take an opportunity of quitting him and returning to Cuba; wherefore he took his route north-west towards Chicoza, a well peopled country, affording plenty of maiz: in his progress hither, he was opposed by the natives in several places; they particularly disputed the pass of a river with him, but having built two large boats in twelve days, without their knowing any thing of it, he launched them before the Indians were aware of it, having drawn them to the river side upon rollers.

On board of each he put forty musketeers and as many cross-bows, with some horses, which gaining the opposite shore, not without bloodshed, maintained their ground till the second embarkation arrived, when they beat the natives quite from their posts: and tho' he afterwards endeavoured to bind their friendship, by presenting them with some trifling baubles; it was to no purpose, as appeared from his being attacked in the night by three different parties of them, which killed forty Spaniards, and fired the town wherein he quartered with fiery arrows, which
burned

burned whatever they fell upon with incredible fury ; however, Soto charged them with his usual resolution, and in a very short time routed them with prodigious slaughter ; but not all his courage and precaution was sufficient to prevent two thirds of the town from being consumed, together with most of the pearls and provision, and in general whatever treasure or plunder they had gathered in their long and tiresome march.

The destruction of this town put them to vast inconveniencies during the remainder of the winter, which was far from being a mild one.

On the 25th of April, 1541, he left Chicoza, and proceeded towards Alibamo, where having learned that there was a fort garrisoned by four thousand Indians, who were enemies, he attacked them with his foot ; posting the horse, which could not enter the building, at some little distance : the besieged made a very desperate sally, but were vigorously repulsed, the Spaniards following the advantage so very closely, that they entered the fort with them pell-mell, making a most dreadful slaughter ; while such as endeavoured to escape their swords, by throwing themselves from the walls, were trampled to death by the horse, and some few of them made prisoners ; it was thought there fell above two thousand Indians in this action.

From Alibamo they came to Chisca, upon the banks of the river since known by the name of the Mississippi, which is the largest river yet known in North-America ; here they surprized and made prisoners some of the natives, whom they set at liberty upon the cacique's offering to supply them with provisions, and live with them upon peaceable terms ; he dwelt upon the ridge of a steep hill, and there were steps going up to his house. Soto having rested in this place sixteen days to refresh his sick,
marched

marched up the river in search of a place where it was not so very rapid, which at length finding after four days march, he ordered two boats to be built, in which he and his people crossed into the fine province of Casquin, where they were civilly treated; the cacique inviting the governor and principal officers to his house, where he entertained them very generously. Casquin is a high champaign country, affording plenty of walnuts, mulberries, red and grey plumbs, with variety of other fruits; besides plenty of skins, and good fish.

As the weather was pretty hot, Soto encamped his people in an open plain, where many large shady trees, that were scattered up and down, afforded them a delightful shelter. Here the cacique made a formal visit to Soto, preceded by several of his people singing, and leading in his train two blind men, for whose sight he prayed Soto to intercede with his great and powerful parent the sun, for from that body they supposed him to have descended; however, the governor declined doing them that signal piece of service, but made them a short sermon, in which he laid down some of the principal points of the Christian faith; and concluded with advising them to put their trust in the favour of mankind, in whose power it was to bestow not only sight, but every blessing. However, so great was the veneration they had conceived for Soto, that this answer did not rightly satisfy them; and they feared his refusing to perform the cure, arose from some offence they had given; nor was it possible to dissuade them from it.

SECOND BOOK. C H A P. IX.

Soto visits Capaha; and his Indian allies commit a great deal of mischief; but take to their heels at being threatened by their foes: the cacique of Capaha treats with Soto, to whom he makes a present of his two wives: an odd way of catching fish: salt found in Cayas: how the people refine it: a disagreement in historians: a skirmish between the Spaniards and the natives: the bravery of an Indian, whom Silvester kills.

THE next place which Soto intended to visit was Capaha, the inhabitants of which were at enmity with those of Casquin, and the cacique having now a mind to manifest his anger, insisted upon escorting the Spaniards, from whom he concealed his real intention, with a body of five hundred armed men, having sent some of his people forward to throw a bridge over a river, that they must necessarily pass; a work which was expeditiously as well as artfully executed. As they approached Capaha, the cacique of Casquin leading the van with his Indians, as if to guide the Spanish army, detached a strong party before him to the town, where they made many prisoners, among whom were two handsome wives of the sovereign, and having finished their outrages, would have certainly burned the town, had not the Spaniards arrived very timely, and laid a restraint on their proceedings.

As soon as Soto arrived, he checked Casquin very severely for what he had done, and freeing the prisoners, sent them with offers of peace and friendship to the cacique of Capaha, who had withdrawn to a fortified island about three leagues distant, but rejected them with the bitterest threats of

of revenge; whereupon Soto prepared to attack him. Casquin, who had ordered canoes to be brought up, in expectation of something of this sort, was extremely rejoiced at this answer, and soon had them in readiness to transport the Spaniards to the island, where they forced Capaha's first entrenchment, to the great terror of his women, tho' not without strong opposition. This increased at the second pallisadoes, from whence the people of Casquin being told they should dearly repent this invasion, when the Christians were gone, took to their heels, and hastening to the water side, carried off forty canoes; and had not the rest been defended, and kept by a guard of Spaniards, not one had been left behind. While this hurry of their retreat continued, Soto ordered his people to be drawn off from the fort, for fear of being thrown into disorder; however, Capaha did not permit him to return to the charge, sending a messenger to tell him he was ready to accept of the terms of peace he had before refused, and if he pleased he would visit him next day, but not taking the least notice of the Casquinians.

Soto was well pleased with his submission, and returned from the island to the town, to which Capaha came the following day; and having first restored to their repositories, with great devotion, the bones of his ancestors, which Casquin had displaced, he hastened to Soto's quarters, whom he addressed with much politeness, which the other returned, and having given him an accurate and brief account of the state of the country, he told Casquin, who was near the governor, in a manner that spoke prodigious contempt, "That he
" might thank these strangers for the vanquished
" situation in which he then saw him; but assured him, that he might depend upon feeling
" the

“ the weight of his displeasure upon their departure.” Then he implored the sun and moon to grant them good seasons, and without permitting Casquin to reply, entered into conversation with Soto, who, notwithstanding their animosity, reconciled them before his departure, and they dined at the same table with him. After this accommodation, Capaha’s two wives were restored to him, a circumstance that pleased him extremely, and he presented them, as marks of his respect, to Soto; who refused to accept of them at first, but was at length prevailed upon.

Soto from this place took his route to a place called Quigaute, lying to the southward, and arrived there on the 4th of August, but found that the cacique, tho’ he had sent him a large present of skins, had abandoned the town, which was the largest as yet seen in Florida. Here they took some prisoners, whom setting at liberty, after having used them with great tenderness, the inhabitants returned freely to their respective houses, and brought fish, skins, and provision of their own accord to the army.

And now being informed that there was a level well-peopled country to the southward, but that a province to the north-west, called Caligoa, was rough and mountainous, the hope of finding gold in the hilly grounds determined Soto to visit the latter; for which purpose, the cacique of Quigaute furnished him with an Indian guide, who led him thro’ a desert of marshy land, where his people were often up to the knees in mud; and in many pools hereabouts there was plenty of fish, which, as if frightened, rose to the surface when the Indians paddled in the water, and were knocked down with sticks and taken.

As the Christians approached Caligoa, the people fled, but some of them, among whom was the cacique

cacique himself, were taken prisoners, by whose order a large quantity of hides both of deer and oxen were brought in, but no sign of gold; here they found great plenty of maiz, very large french beans, and excellent pompions. From this place to a small scattering town called Palisema, which gave name to a large territory, the distance amounted to five days journey; here they found the roof as well as the floor of the cacique's house covered with deers skins of various colours, and the soil all the way to Cayas appeared very fertile; deer skins being displayed in several places thro' which they passed, in token of peace, this being the custom of the country.

In Cayas they rested a month, where there was excellent maiz, and good salt, of which they had hitherto been in great want; it is left by the ebb of the river upon the banks on each side, where being mixed with sand, they put it in a sort of strainer and wet it well, so that it all melts thro' into a vessel, set for that purpose beneath it, leaving the sand and dross behind; then it is heated over a gentle fire, till the water evaporates, and the clear salt only remains. From hence, after a tedious march, he came to Tulla, where we are told by Ramusio, in the third volume of his collection of voyages, the cacique, attended by eighty people, received and treated him very civilly; but we rather chuse to follow Herrera, who in his history of America tells us, that the people of Tulla opposed him and were all put to the sword; as these two accounts are point-blank contrary, it were in vain to attempt to reconcile them; but this much may be said for Herrera, that he seems all along very well acquainted with the American affairs; and tho' both were men of veracity, the latter is the more exact in general.

In a short time after this action, the people attacked the Spanish quarters in the night with prodigious

gious fury, which were not without difficulty maintained; however, as day approached, the Spaniards collected new courage, and at length drove them off, not without many of themselves being wounded, and some killed. After their retreat, an Indian, who it is supposed had been stunned with a blow, started up from among the dead; and catching hold of a battle-ax, with a view to defend himself and effect his escape, gave such a blow to Carawza, a Spaniard who attempted to stop him, that he pierced quite thro' his target and gave him a deep wound in the arm; disabling with a second blow Godoy, who ran to assist his companion; and meeting Salazar, who made at him on horseback, with a stroke so well aimed at his neck, that he brought him senseless to the ground. At last he was opposed by Gonzalo Silvester, who parrying a blow that he made at him, cut him down the forehead with a back-handed flourish, and the sword flanting by his breast, took off his left hand close to the wrist, when the Indian collecting all his strength to run in upon him, Silvester, who was aware of his intent, cleft him down the middle with one stroke.

Having rested in the neighbourhood of Tulla for twenty days, they proceeded to Vitangue, and here finding a healthful soil, and plenty of provisions, they determined to pass the winter.

They left this place in April 1542, and after a pleasant march of seven days thro' good roads, arrived at Nagauten, where they were met by four Indian noblemen attended by five hundred servants. They said they were sent by their cacique, who intended him speedily a personal visit, to compliment him upon his arrival. But, tho' they remained here seventeen days, the cacique never thought proper to keep his word.

C H A P. X.

John Guzman deserts to the Indians: the ill consequence of gaming, and the strength of love, proved from example: the cacique of Nagauten gives a good instance of sensibility: Soto marches against the people of Anilco: and the depredations of those of Guacachoia disgust him extremely: a bold and rational answer sent to an address of Soto: who dies of grief, and is succeeded in command by Lewis de Moscoso, who keeps his death secret.

BEFORE they left this place, they were deserted by a man of the name of John Guzman, who came from Seville in Old Spain. Understanding that he had entered the service of the cacique, Soto threatened to detain in captivity the four noblemen that were in his power, unless Guzman should be delivered up; but received for answer that Guzman himself refused to return: in consequence of this intelligence, one of the four Indians was sent to inquire the true reason of his refusal, and at the same time to carry him a letter from the governor. The messenger returned faithfully, bringing back with him the letter, at the bottom of which was written with charcoal, "I will not return, John Guzman;" and also a message from the cacique himself, implying, that he looked upon it to be inconsistent both with honour and justice to deliver up a man, who chose to remain with him, without having been influenced either by force or persuasions; that for his part, he considered him as a very valuable acquisition, and would be glad of having many more such subjects; in the mean time, if the governor thought proper to put to death the four Indians, or ravage his country

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on that account, it was in his power and he might do it.

Soto finding this answer to be very reasonable, dismissed the four Indians with some presents, and left the country in a very peaceable manner.

The reason of this man's defection, was his having lost his horse, arms, and all he was worth at play; but chiefly an Indian woman, his property, whom he violently loved, and who proved to be daughter to the cacique to whose service he had retired.

It is difficult, because of the change of names in that country, to trace Soto's marches for some time past, with any great exactness, but they were probably to the westward of the river Mississippi: however, intending to make the shortest way to the sea, he marched thro' many provinces, without any material accident, till he reached Anilco; where the cacique waited to oppose his progress at the head of fifteen hundred men, who all ran away, as soon as he came in sight, and crossed the river in canoes; from hence he pursued his march, making very slight halts, to Guacachoia: the cacique of which place being an enemy to those of Anilco sought his friendship, by an embassy of some of his principal people richly attended, and loaded with fruits and provisions; and coming himself shortly after, attended by ten gentlemen gallantly dressed, and armed in their country manner, to offer his service to the governor, assuring him that if he chose it, he would second him with a good army, and eighty canoes, to go against the cacique of Anilco.

Soto accepted his offer, and marched accordingly against him with most of his own people, and two thousand Indians headed by the cacique, while four thousand others were sent down the river in canoes under the command of a Spanish offi-

cer, all which forces met at the end of three days; when the people of Anilco, unable to withstand such opposition, retired and left their city quite defenceless; into which those of Guacachoia rushed with precipitation, and committed very great disorders, nor was it in the power of all Soto's eloquence or prudence to stem the torrent of their fury, or prevent them from setting the town on fire; which gave him infinite uneasiness, as he was not at all a friend to cruelty, but much less where it was apparently so inconsistent with policy. He drove the destroyers indeed out of the town, but not before it was impossible for them to do much more mischief; and then returned extremely dissatisfied to Guacachoia.

On his arrival at this place, he applied himself diligently to felling and preparing timber, in order to fit out brigantines for falling down with his people to the sea; resolving to depart as soon as ever they could be got ready. While he was thus employed, he sent an embassy to a neighbouring cacique, wherein he demanded his friendship, and invited him to a visit, as to a child of the sun; which title he assumed to impress the greater awe, as he knew the Indians particularly venerated that planet.

But the cacique roughly answered him, that
“ Touching his being a child of the sun, he would
“ believe him, provided he dried up the neighbouring river, or performed something great, that
“ was adequate to his pretensions, to witness his
“ quality and power; and for visiting, it was what
“ he never did, thinking it sufficient honour to
“ grant audience in his own city, where he would
“ receive him ready for peace or war; neither
“ afraid of the one, nor over fond of the other.”

This and his many other disappointments sunk deeply on his spirits, and brought on a violent fever,

ver,

ver, which finding that he should not be able to survive, he ordered his chief officers to be summoned to his tent, where having appointed Lewis de Moscoso de Alvarado to succeed him in command, and entreated them all to obey him, till his authority should be either superseded or confirmed by the king, he died on the 21st of May, 1542 : nor is it paying any compliment to his memory to say, that all who knew, lamented him : he was a handsome man, generous, humane, and courageous, of an open countenance, and beloved by the soldiery, with whom he always equally ventured his person ; he was only forty-two years old in this expedition, and spent most of a very large fortune, which he had amassed with a very amiable character under Pizarro.

Lewis de Moscoso took all the pains he could to conceal his death, as the Indians hereabouts had a most elevated idea of his virtues, and he had insinuated among them a notion that the Christians were immortal ; besides persuading them that he could look into futurity, and that the image, which he shewed them in a mirror, was a spirit that travelled about prying into the most secret matters, for his information, and entirely subservient to his directions. For these reasons, he was buried in the middle of the night, without side of the town ; but the Indians being observed to take notice that the earth had been newly moved, Moscoso ordered the body to be dug up as privately as it had been interred, and enclosed in a hollow piece of oak ; which, with weights, was sunk in the middle of the river, in a place where it was nineteen fathoms deep, and a mile over.

The cacique of Guacachoia, and some others who knew of his being sick, suspected the truth, and insisted upon seeing him, when Moscoso told them he was gone to heaven, as he often did upon some

private business, leaving him as his representative : but this account not satisfying the cacique, he sent two Indians bound to Moscoso, whom he desired him to behead, in order to attend the governor in his celestial progress; but he gave the poor Indians their liberty, and angrily replied to the cacique, that Soto needed not his assistance; that he was not dead; and he had taken a good many Christian soldiers with him to wait on him in the journey on which he was set out.

C H A P. XI.

Moscoso resolves to return to Cuba : is led into great inconveniencies by misconduct and treachery : goes about building vessels to transport his people in : they shew great ingenuity : in great danger from a conspiracy, which is retarded by a flood : they are attacked in their vessels on the river, and gauled extremely : but at length get out to sea : and after various fatigues gain the coast of Mexico.

THE first signal resolution that Moscoso took after being settled in his command, was to quit Florida; but, by some unaccountable infatuation, he was induced to take his route to the westward; whereby he was led into a march for more than a hundred leagues thro' barren and desert places, where he had neither aid nor provision; besides, he fell several times into ambuscades of the natives, wherein he lost several of his men, and this circumstance made him suspect that his guides were false; which treachery one of them, at whom the dogs were set for that purpose, confessed, laying the blame however upon his cacique, whom he said he was obliged to serve.

After a chase of this sort for more than three months, they changed their course to the eastward, intending if possible to recover the river Mississippi; for

for they neither knew their latitude, nor their distance from the gulf of Mexico. At length, by keeping sometimes to the northward, they reached the river about the end of November, between Anilco and Guacachoia, having travelled more than three hundred leagues, and being reduced to three hundred and twenty foot and seventy horse; nor were these in the best order in the world.

The two caciques of Anilco and Guacachoia now struggled with each other, who should be most in favour with the Spaniards, each inviting them to his town: however they refused both, and quartered between them on the banks of the river, at a place called Aminoia, where the Indians behaved to them with great respect. Here they rested themselves, in order to recover the fatigue of their unprofitable progress till the middle of January, 1543, when being well recruited, they began to cut down wood, and prepare iron work for the new vessels which they intended to build, to carry them down the river.

February, March, and April were spent in building brigantines, under the care of a Genoese ship-carpenter: for sails they used those mantles or blankets of which we have already spoken, made from an herb of the mallow kind, which spun well, and served them also for ropes of different sizes. These, as well as most things of which they stood in need, were furnished by the people of Anilco, which complacency made those of Guacachoia extremely jealous.

In the mean time, a cacique on the east side of the river, who looked on the Spaniards as invaders, set on foot a conspiracy for their destruction, which the cacique of Anilco, who had been invited to the league, in company with several other neighbouring provinces, discovered to Moscoso, who was thereby put on his guard; and as notice was given

him he would be attacked sometime in the night, he sent word to all the caciques round about, dissembling his knowledge of their intention, that he had given strict orders to his soldiers to admit nobody, upon any account whatsoever, into the Spanish quarters, after night-fall; but that, by day, the communication was kept open as usual. Notwithstanding which intimation, two Indians attempted to pass the ditch, upon a tree which they had laid a-cross for that purpose; but they were stopped by Silvester, who kept the watch, and cut one of them terribly over the face for attempting to push by him; while the other fled.

The following day, a message came to Moscoso, from the cacique who headed the conspiracy, demanding, that the centinel, who had wounded an Indian gentleman of some fashion, in time of peace, should be put to death; and this demand was enforced by a second, who brought an account of the Indian's being dead: the only answer the general returned, was, that the Indian deserved his fate, for endeavouring to break a public order, thereby to promote discord, and that the Spaniard had done his duty: after which reply the cacique desisted from his request, intending soon to take ample satisfaction.

The conspiracy was however retarded by the swelling of the river, which overflowed the country for twenty leagues round, obliging the Indians to abandon their dwellings, and retire within land; but the Spaniards removed their brigantines to the highest part of the town, where they pursued their work, being almost above the power of the water: and, standing in need of provisions, they tied the canoes two and two, and sent them for a supply to Anilco, which they found quite overflowed; however, they were perceived by the cacique of the place, from a neighbouring hill, whereon he and his people were encamped, who sent a messenger to

to inquire who they were; and seeing they were Spaniards, not only loaded them with refreshments, but added to the number some boats of his own; Silvester commanded this detachment, and along with him was the cacique's son, who having learned Spanish, and accompanied them in their late toilsome expedition, would willingly have staid with them, and shared their fortune, but his father would not part with him.

The flood, having lasted from the beginning of March to the end of April, began now to abate; but there was so much mud and dirt left in the streets, that it was some time before they could walk in them; their shoes, which were made of green leather, being wetted, became like a piece of tripe. The beginning of June their brigantines were ready for launching; and, on the 29th of the same month, the forces all embarked; and having made a firm peace with the caciques of Anileo and Guacachoia, they set sail.

We observed before, that the designs of the confederate provinces against the Spaniards were retarded by the flood; however, they had prepared a thousand canoes upon the water, to assail, in their passage, the brigantines, which were seven in number, each having a small cock-boat a-stern, and being toughly defended by planks and green hides, with three hundred and fifty Spaniards, and thirty Indian men and women, who resolved to live and die with them. As the Spaniards had long since consumed all their powder, they had made nails, and other iron work for the ship building, of the barrels of their muskets; and the only arms they had left were their swords, within reach of which the Indians had no inclination to come, and their cross-bows, which did some execution. The canoes kept at distance from them, yet approached near enough to bring their arrows to bear, where-

with they did some mischief at first; but the Spaniards finding that they kept aloof, for fear of the swords, shot at them with their cross-bows from under cover, with pretty good success.

However, after pursuing them ten days, they left them on a sudden, and let them proceed; from which circumstance Moscofo conjectured they were near the sea; so that they spread all their sails, and plied their oars with double diligence, till they came in sight of a small town, where they landed an hundred men and eight horses, under command of Silvester, who found the town deserted; but plenty of provisions with skins well dressed, and a strip of sable of the finest sort, eight yards long, and an ell wide, richly ornamented with valuable pearls. Here the canoes again appeared in sight, and Silvester, in returning to the ships, fell into an ambuscade of Indians, who shot some of the horses loaden with provisions, but did no other damage: however, a mad Spaniard called Estevez, having resolved to do something very remarkable, spirited up forty others to follow him, seized some of the boats from the brigantines, and rowed up to attack the Indians, while Moscofo recalled him by a trumpet, backed his sails, and dispatched some canoes after, to recover him, but in vain, for the Indians immediately clapped between the ships and Estevez, sinking his vessels, and knocking those on the head who swam; so that only four escaped out of the forty. This victory gave the Indians new spirits; they redoubled their flights of arrows upon the brigantines, which however at last wearied them out; having led them a chase, as near as could be guessed, of four hundred leagues.

July the 19th, they came, to their great joy, in sight of the sea, and made some stay to refresh themselves, and repair their brigantines in an island; where, just as they were about to depart, seven canoes

canoes appeared from a creek overgrown with rushes; in that, which seemed to be the principal of them, was a very tall black man, who addressed them in a menacing manner; on which, Silvester chusing out an hundred men, pursued them in boats to their asylum, where he found above sixty other canoes, three of which he overfet, and the rest of them fled; many of the Indians falling by the cross-bows.

After this exploit they set sail, steering south-west, and keeping as close to the shore as they could in safety do, till they got into the sea of Mexico, where five of the brigantines at last made a creek in New Spain, but the two others were driven out to sea by a north wind; and, after being severely handled by the waves for twenty-four hours, they happily spied land again, which they reached with some difficulty, and here ran their ships a-ground, on the 10th of September, 1543. They then divided themselves into parties, in order to discover whereabouts they were; and one of them, led by Silvester, going up the country, spied three Indians fishing in a lake, and two others gathering fruit; one of whom they took, but did not understand his language; however, he brought them to a cottage where they found two baskets of fruit, a turkey-cock, two Spanish hens, and some conserves; which having secured they dismissed him with some trifling presents: in about four hours he returned, with eight Indians, loaden with fish, fowl, maiz, and fruit; together with the cacique, who could write and read, and had brought them pen, ink, and paper, whereby they were enabled to write to the governor of Panuco, in whose territory they were, acquainting him of their arrival.

Then they sent in search of, and found, the other five brigantines; which being piloted hither, all the crews joined, and marched in the miserable

equipage they landed in, to Panuco, where they were treated with great civility; and the viceroy of Mexico being informed of their arrival, immediately sent horses loaden with all manner of necessaries for their relief; ordering them to come to Mexico, which they did; where the viceroy promised, on their giving a very tempting account of the fertility of the country they had passed, and blaming the king's officers for not supporting the expedition, to go thither himself at their head. But, as he never performed his promise, some of them went to Peru, and others settled in Mexico, where they were easily provided for; while the most melancholy among them took a religious habit; and the Spaniards heads ran so much upon gold at that time, that all further thoughts of Florida were laid aside till 1549, when some Dominican friars took it in their heads to go thither, to plant Christianity; but the Indians destroyed them all, in twenty-four hours after they had landed.









The VOYAGE of FERNANDES MAGALIANES, commonly called MAGELLAN.

CHAP. I.

Magellan's character : his offers to the emperor, and encouragement : proceeds on his voyage. Arrives at Cape St. Mary's : winters near the south pole : the land inhabited by giants, who are described ; two of them are made prisoners : some account of the devil Setebos, and his followers : Some of Magellan's men hanged for mutiny. The Straits of Magellan discovered ; and the St. Antonio separates from the fleet : Magellan's people reduced to great distress in the pacific ocean : they discover the south pole. They come to the islands of Thieves : the simplicity of the inhabitants : their complexion and clothing described. The great use of the coco-tree : an account of certain people with huge ears. Magellan is gallantly entertained by the king of Bethuan and his son : their surprise at a man in armour. They are visited by the king of Messana, and proceed to Zubut, where they trade with the king, and convert his whole island to Christianity. The funeral ceremonies of the people of Mathun, and their sacrifices explained. Magellan killed. Succeeded in command by Barbosa and Serrano, who burn one of their ships. Some account of the court of Borneo : they catch a saddle fish ; and find an animated tree. Of certain cannibals that squeeze oranges on human hearts as nice morsels : they discover the Moluccas, and enter Tidore. They approach

approach the island of Eude; double the Cape of Good Hope: reduced to great distress; and oppressed by the governor of one of the Cape de Verde islands: they arrive in the Port of St. Lucar. A short account of the voyage of the other ship.

MAGELLAN was a man of spirit and courage, born in Portugal, who renounced his allegiance to king Emanuel, on being refused a very trifling advance in his monthly salary. He had served with reputation under Albuquerque, having given many proofs of his abilities, and established a firm reputation in Africa as well as India.

He retired to the court of Castile, where he made it appear to the emperor, that, from the boundaries of their respective rights in the western world, agreed to by king John II. and Ferdinand and Isabel of Castile, the Molucca and Banda islands, famous for spices, belonged to him; undauntedly undertaking to find out a passage to them by the west; for which his memory has been severely treated by the Portuguese writers.

Five ships were fitted out at the emperor's expence, viz. the Trinity, admiral, under the care of Stephen Gomes, a Portuguese pilot; the St. Victoria, commanded by Servis de Mendoza; the St. Antonio, by John de Carthagená; the St. Jago, by John Serran; and the Conception, by Gasper de Quexada: their crew consisted of two hundred and thirty-seven men, or thereabouts; and Magellan was made admiral and commander in chief of this little squadron.

August the 10th, 1519, they left Sevil, and arrived at Teneriff on the 26th of September: they sailed for some time by the coast of Guinea, and were becalmed for seventy days before they reached the line; which having passed, they lost sight

of the north star, and steered north-west, till they arrived at Brazil, where they were refreshed, and met with variety of excellent fruits, good sugar canes, and many different sort of animals, &c. This country is eight degrees southward of the equinocial, and on the same continent with Cape St. Augustine.

Hence they proceeded to a land in twenty-four degrees and one half south latitude, inhabited partly by cannibals, several of whom their men pursued to no purpose; for they were extremely swift: and one of them, who was descried from the ships, had the stature of a giant, and the voice of a bull. Here they found a large fresh water river, whence they imagined they might pass into the South Sea; but they were deceived, there being no passage out. In the mouth of this river, which is seventeen leagues broad, there are seven islands, in the largest of which, called by them Cape St. Mary, they met with some precious stones.

Along this coast they sailed towards the south pole, till they discovered two islands, where there was such plenty of seals and penguins, that in an hour they might have loaded the five ships with them: the latter are black, they feed upon fish, and are covered with a soft down instead of feathers, having bills like ravens, and are so very fat, that it was scarce possible to flea them. Here they were encountered by a very violent storm; which suddenly ceased on the appearance of the three fires called St. Helen, St. Nicholas, and St. Clare, upon their rigging.

They then proceeded to forty-nine degrees and one half of south latitude, where they wintered two months, without seeing any human creature, except a giant, who came down to the haven dancing, singing, and throwing dust over his head. The admiral, who was ashore upon a small island,
sent

sent one of his men to him in the ship's boat, who having made the like motions in token of peace; the giant, without any fear, came with him to the admiral, and seemed much amazed at sight of him and his attendants, manifesting, by pointing to the heavens, and by other gestures, his belief of their having descended from above.

He was so very tall, that the head of a middling sized man reached only to his waste; he was corpulent and well proportioned; his visage was large, and painted with different colours, but principally with yellow; there were red circles about his eyes, and something like a hart was figured on each cheek; his hair was coloured white, and his apparel was the skin of some beast tacked together; the head of which appeared to have been very large: it had ears like a mule, a body like a camel, and the tail of an horse; the skin of it was wrapped about his feet in the manner of shoes: in his hand was a thick short bow, and a bundle of arrows, made of reeds, pointed with sharp stones, and feather'd as ours generally are. The admiral made him eat and drink, after which he presented him with hawks bells, a comb, some glass beads, and other trifling things, but particularly a looking-glass, in which he had no sooner perceived his own horrid appearance, than he started back, as if affrighted, with such violence, that he threw down a woman standing near him: he went ashore, escorted by four men well armed.

He was succeeded by another giant, rather larger, armed in the same manner, whom the admiral sent some of his men to compliment, as they had done the former; and he was soon induced to come to the island, being of a tractable pleasant disposition, singing and dancing with great good humour: he remained among them for some time, and they gave him the name of John; his voice was well tuned;
but

but coarser than ordinary ; and he could pronounce Jesus, ave Maria, and Johannes, very distinctly. The admiral gave him a linen shirt, a white cloth coat, a looking-glass, a cap, a comb, and several other things, and sent him back : he returned to the ship's company the next day, bringing one of those beasts, the skin of which he wore, as a present for the admiral ; but it is supposed his countrymen destroyed him for this connexion, as he was never heard of afterwards.

Four other giants coming down to the water-side, in about fifteen days after, unarmed, having hid their bows and arrows in the bushes ; the two youngest and most active of them were detained, having been secured by a trick. To them were given chrystal beads, bells, and such other trifles, till their hands were quite full ; after which, bright iron shackles were put round their legs, by way of present, with which, on account of their shining, they were well enough pleased. The two others would have assisted them in their burdens, but were prevented : when they found their legs fast, they began to suspect some deceit, roared as loud as bulls, and implored the assistance of the great devil Setebos. They were put on board of different ships : it was impossible to seize upon the other two ; one of them was with much difficulty borne down by nine of the sailors, and his hands bound, but he soon burst the restriction, started up and fled : nor was his companion far behind him ; they were pursued, and one of Magellan's men was slain by one of their arrows.

It is said, that ten or twelve devils dance about the bodies of such of them as die ; that these devils are of different colours ; and one of them, who seems to be larger than the rest, makes very merriness on the occasion. It was collected from the gestures of one of these prisoners, that he had seen
some

some of those devils with two horns upon them, and long hair hanging down to their feet, who cast out flames on every side.

To these people Magellan gave the name of Patagoni. Their dresses, for the most part, were such skins as I have already described : they have no particular place of residence, but carry their cottages every where with them, which are covered with the same sort of skins as they wear. Their chief food is raw flesh, and a root of a sweet flavour called capax. They are jealous of their women. An arrow thrust down the throat, so as to force up blood and other matter, by way of vomit, is their constant cure for a sickness at the stomach ; a cut across the forehead, causing an emission of blood, removes the head-ach ; and pains in the legs, arms, or any other part, are in the same manner dispelled. They cut their hair almost like friars, binding it with a cotton lace, and swathe themselves so very tightly, because of the cold, that their genitals are often hidden in their bodies. One of these people on board the ship, eat a basket of biscuit at one meal, and drank a bucket of water at a draught.

Some of the under officers, among whom was Lewis de Mendoza, were here hanged and quartered for conspiring the admiral's death. John de Carthagena a priest, and some others who had been concerned in the plot, were left among the Patagoni ; a cross was also erected here, in token of possession being taken of the country.

From this land, they sailed to the fifty-second degree of south latitude, where was a fresh water river, and very good fish. Here they were in some danger ; however, the ships put into port, where they remained about two months, stocking themselves with fish, fuel, and fresh water ; at this place the admiral caused all his men to be confessed. Hereabouts they found the straits called by Magellan's

lan's name, being an hundred and ten leagues long, very broad in some places, and in others little more than half a league over. They are flanked with very high mountains, covered with snow, beyond which is the beginning of the South Sea; the admiral named this the Pacific Ocean. The heat of the equinoctial, as they approached it, killed one of the giants; and it was here that the St. Antonio stole privately away and returned to Spain.

When Magellan had thus passed the straits, and saw a passage open to the other sea, the tears fell from his eyes thro' joy; and, to the point of land whence he first descried it, he gave the name of Cape Desire. Upon the top of a neighbouring hill they erected a cross, in order to direct the St. Antonio in case she should come that way, for they imagined she had missed her course.

In this strait they found plenty of good havens, sufficiency of water, wood, fish, and the most wholesome herbs: and in the month of October the night did not exceed four hours.

The surviving giant that remained behind, was at first very uneasy at the sign of the cross being made before him, shewing by signs he feared that it would raise the devil Setebos, who would enter his body and kill him; but, when he found the falsity of his fears, he embraced the cross very devoutly, and desired to be made a Christian; in consequence of which he was baptized by the name of Paul. He spoke all his words from his throat; and among other things called bread, cassar; water, oli; red cloth, cherecai; red colour, cheiche; and black colour, amel.

On the 28th of November, 1520, they entered the Pacific Ocean, where they were upwards of three months without sight of land; in which time all their provisions and fresh water were consumed,
and

and they were reduced to the necessity of feeding upon old leather, soaked for four or five days in sea-water to soften it, and drinking their own urine; so that their gums grew over their teeth, and nineteen of their men, together with the giant, and a native of Brazil, died very miserably: besides these, several others of their hands were so feeble as to be unable to work, and none of them were free from some racking distemper.

This ocean, in which they sailed above four thousand leagues, running from one hundred and fifty, to two hundred and ten knots a day, was justly called Pacific, as in the whole time they met with no tempest of any sort, nor the sign of foul weather. In it they discovered two uninhabited islands, about two hundred leagues asunder, the first being in fifteen, and the other in five degrees of south latitude; neither of them bearing any thing but some useless trees, and a few birds; wherefore they named them the Unfortunate Islands.

In this course they made observation of two clusters of stars, not very distant one from the other, appearing like clouds, somewhat dark in the middle; between which are two stars, neither remarkable for size or lustre, which are called the antarctic, or south pole: but there are no remarkable stars about this as about the north pole.

Here the needle varied greatly; and, tho' it still pointed to the north pole, it lost much of its virtue, so that they were obliged to retouch it with the loadstone. They now discovered a cross of five clear stars due west, all equidistant.

They passed by two very high lands, the one named Cipanghu, in twenty degrees south latitude, the other in fifteen, called Sumbdit. Leaving the equinoctial behind, they sailed between west and south-west, keeping more to the south-west by a hundred leagues, till they came into thirteen degrees

grees north latitude, intending for the cape, called by old writers Cattigara, which is not situated as they have described it.

On the 6th of March, in the twelfth degree of north latitude, and the hundred and forty-sixth of west longitude, they discovered an island to the north-west, and two to the south-west, one of which was larger and higher than the other; and here our admiral intended to have refreshed for some time: but the inhabitants were such great thieves that he found it impossible; they daily filched something or other from the ships, which they constantly visited in their canoes, and this rapaciousness so provoked the sailors, that they were not without difficulty restrained from striking sail, and coming close to land with the ships to revenge themselves. However, the admiral himself went on shore, with forty armed men, slew seven of the islanders, burned above fifty houses, and several canoes, recovered a ship's boat which they had run away with, and then returned on board the ship to pursue his voyage, distinguishing these islands by the name of the Islands of Thieves, *Insulæ Latronum*. Some of them pulled the arrows with which they had been shot by the sailors from their wounds, and gazed on them with wonder till they fell dead: and even when Magellan's fleet was departing, above two hundred boats followed it pretty far, proffering fish by way of present; and among them were several women, who tore their hair, and gave other marks of lamentations, as if for the loss of their husbands.

These people are middle-sized, of an olive colour, with black beards, and hair hanging down to their waste; they go naked, and appear not to be subservient to any particular chief or ruler. The women are whiter than the men, with good features, and thick black hair reaching almost to the ground; they cover their privities with the inner

ner bark of the palm, and seldom go abroad, being employed at home in making mats and nets of the palm-tree, and in other domestic offices. The men wear palm-tree bonnets, and think it essential to beauty to colour their teeth either red or black; to anoint their bodies and head with oil of coco; and they feed on coco, bananas, birds, figs, sugar-canes, flying fish, &c.

Their boats are of different colours, their sails are the large leaves of the date-tree sewed together; and their rudder a board with a staff in the top, so that they can make either end the stern, as they think proper: these sail very swiftly, and are, at distance, not unlike dolphins swimming on the surface. Their houses are timber covered with boards, and the fig-tree leaf, which is more than a yard long; and they are divided into hall and chambers with windows; they sleep on the palm-leaf, which is very soft, and their bed-furniture is made up of palm-mats: their weapons are clubs or poles headed with horn.

On the 10th of March, 1521, they landed on a small island, thirty leagues from the Islands of Thieves, called Zamal; and the next day went on shore on another called Humuna, where they found good fresh water, plenty of fruit trees, with some gold and white coral: here the admiral caused a tent to be pitched, for the reception of the sick from on board ship, and a hog to be killed.

On the 18th of March they were visited by nine men in a canoe, who appeared to be very humane and good-natured, bringing with them wine drawn from the coco, and other presents for the admiral; and signifying by signs, that in four days they would bring flesh, fowl, and rice: nor did they break their words.

From the coco-tree is made bread, wine, oil, and vinegar: an incision is made in the tree, to
which

which is infixed a large reed, into which drops an agreeable liquor, a little tart, and not unlike white wine: this is drank as wine. The coco fruit is as large as a man's head; the outside rind of it is green, about two fingers deep, and easily divisible into threads; and from these they make cordage for their boats: beneath this rind is a thick shell, which burned to a powder is used by them as a remedy in many diseases: under this is a white thick substance, like a nut's kernel, which they eat with fish, flesh, &c. as we do bread, tasting not unlike an almond, and keeping dry; within this kernel is a wholesome sweet liquor, very clear; but it sometimes congeals and lies like an egg; of this when they intend to make oil, they lay it to putrify in water, and boil it to the consistence of oil or melted butter: to make it vinegar, they set only the water in the sun, where it soon becomes sour like that made of white-wine; and the kernel and water contained therein, bruised together, and strained thro' a cloth, produces a milk not unlike that of goats. These trees flourish an hundred years; and two coco nut trees will maintain a family of ten people in liquor for sixteen days, but it won't keep much longer.

These people came from a small neighbouring island called Zulvan, and invited the admiral to their boats to view their merchandize, consisting of cloves, cinnamon, mace, pepper, nutmegs, and divers things made of gold: he, in return, entertained them on board, where they were so terrified at hearing a cannon shot off, that they would have leaped into the sea, had not the admiral appeased them with complacency and presents. The men were naked, with gold rings in their ears, bracelets round their arms; and they had daggers, knives, and lances adorned with gold. They informed him of people in the neighbouring islands, whose

whose ears hung down to their arms. On the 22d of March they brought down oranges, palm wine, and cocos, which were a great refreshment to the sick.

As there were many islands hereabouts, they named it the Archipelago of St. Lazarus: the inhabitants are Gentiles; gross, and well-set, and of an olive complexion; they anoint their bodies with oil of coco, to save them from the hot sun and dry winds, and go generally naked, covering only their privities with cloth made from the rind of a tree: their chief is distinguished by a silk bonnet, ornamented with needle work.

They left this island on the 25th of March, steering between west and south-west, and on the 28th anchored off the island of Buthuan, where the king and his son entertained them very honourably. The admiral presented the king with a red garment, and one that was yellow, made after the Turkish manner, and a red cap; and distributed knives and glass beads among his attendants: he then shewed the ship, together with his merchandise, but frightened him extremely by firing a piece of ordnance; however, he was very easy when he found no harm intended. The king expressed great surprise at seeing several persons strike a sailor, who was, for that purpose, armed cap-a-pie, without making the least impression upon, or hurting him; and he declared by his interpreter, who was a slave, native of Molucca, that one such man was too strong for an hundred of his soldiers.

Antonio Pigafetta, and another man, were ordered to escort him to shore; and, as soon as he landed, he raised his hands to heaven, stretching them out afterwards towards the Christians, in which he was imitated by all his train: Antonio and his companion did the same in return; and when they drank to each other, this was their compliment.

pliment. They ascended by ladders to the king's palace, which was raised on props of timber, and looked something like a hay-loft, being roofed with palm and fig-leaf. They sit cross-legged at victuals, and, by way of candles in the night, use a sort of gum, wrapped up in palm-tree leaves, and conveniently folded. His majesty was astonished at Antonio's writing down the names of many things, which he repeated several times with astonishment, and then dismissed him and his companion with many presents; as did also the young prince, after having entertained them magnificently, in a neighbouring island called Caleghan, where he had his palace.

In this island they found several large pieces of gold, commixed with the earth; and there were many vessels of gold in the king's house, which was handsomely adorned. The king was a man of a comely appearance, his black hair hung down below his shoulders, on his head he had a sort of filken turban, gold rings in his ears, and three on every finger; a dagger with a golden handle in a carved wooden case hung by his side; and about his waist was tied a stripe of a mixture of cotton and silk, which reached down to his knees; his body was painted with various colours, and anointed with oil of benjamin and storax; his face was naturally of an olive hue; he was called Raia Columbu, and the prince Raia Siagu.

The admiral would not permit one of his men to take a collar and crown of gold in exchange for some glass-beads, lest the natives should have been thence induced to infer, that their gold was of more value than the Spanish wares.

The natives are very nimble; they are painted and go naked: the women are indeed partly covered by their hair, which reaches almost to the ground; they all wear gold rings, and chew a

fruit, not unlike a pear, called arecca, which they cut in quarters, and fold up in the beetle-leaf; this, they say, comforts the heart, reddens the mouth, and having chewed it sufficiently, they spit it out; and to this they are so used, that they could scarcely live without it.

The admiral presented them with a cross, and a crown of thorns, to which all his men at the same time paid a low reverence; this, he told them by the interpreter, he gave as a token of the friendship of the emperor his master: he bade them set it upon the highest mountain, and by reverently bowing to it, assured them that they should be preserved from any injury that tempests, thunder, or lightning could inflict; that any Christians who should chance to come that way, would infer, from seeing it, that whoever erected it had been well entertained; and consequently would aid and assist, instead of doing them any damage. Their only form of worship was raising their hands and eyes to heaven, and calling on their god Abbas, which gave the admiral some pleasure, as the Gentiles are much more easily converted to Christianity than the Mahometans.

The king of Buthuan furnished them with pilots, who conducted them to Zeilon, Zubut, Messana, and Caleghan. The best of these is Zubut, at least for trade. In the island of Messana, which is nine degrees north latitude, they found dogs, cats, hogs, hens, goats, rice, ginger, coco, barley, figs, oranges and wax, with a great quantity of gold. Hence they sailed north-west, passing between Zeilon, Bohol, Canghu, Barbai, and Caleghan; in which last there are bats as large as eagles, which are well flavoured, and taste like hens; here are also found stock-doves, turtle-doves, popinjays, and a sort of hens with small horns, that lay large eggs, burying them deep in the sand, where they are hatched

hatched by the heat of the sun, and the young chickens creep out by themselves.

They took the king of Messana on board with them, and then proceeded to Zubut, which is fifty leagues from Catighan, and seventy from Messana.

On the 7th of April, about noon, they entered the port of Zubut, and passed many villages situated among trees: when they came within cannon-shot of the city, Magellan drew up his ships in battle array, and fired off all his ordnance; then he sent an ambassador and an interpreter on shore to the king, whom, together with his people, he found extremely terrified at the noise of the firing; but they were easy when informed by the interpreter, it was a customary compliment, and a mark of their respect for the lord of the place. The interpreter further informed him, that the admiral his master, who belonged to the most powerful prince in the world, had been out to discover the Molucca islands, and was determined to visit him, in order to exchange merchandise for provision, by the character given of him by the king of Messana. The king was well satisfied with this address, only observed to them, that it was customary for all ships that entered this harbour to pay him tribute, instancing a ship's having done so but a few days before, which was laden with gold and slaves; to witness which assertion, he produced the owners of the vessels. The interpreter answered, That paying tribute to him was beneath the dignity of so great a king as his master; that if he insisted on it, he would find the ill consequences of it by a war, in which he must be certain to suffer; since the power of his master was infinitely greater than that of Portugal, he having many more ships and territories, as being king of Spain and emperor of all Christendom.

A trading moor, who was present at this discourse, confirmed what the interpreter said, assuring the king, that if these people were not treated with proper respect, their sovereign, who had subdued Calicut, Malacha, and all the greater India, would perhaps let loose an army on him that would ravage his whole country. On this intimation he asked a day's time to consider of his answer; furnishing them in the mean time with every refreshment.

The king of Messana now paid him a visit; for, next to the king of Zubut, there was none hereabouts so powerful: and he gave such a character of the admiral's humanity and complacency, that when his answer was sent for, the messenger met the king in the streets, accompanied by many great men, going towards the ships, desiring to know if there were more than one chief on board, and ready to barter ware for ware with the people on their own terms, as well as to grant every immunity they should require; asking, as a seal of friendship, a little blood drawn from the admiral's right arm, promising in return some from his own. Then the king of Messana and the king of Zubut's nephew, with several great men, visited the admiral on board, bringing with them many very fine presents, in order to engage his confidence and friendship.

The admiral then preached to them the Christian faith, which they readily embraced; and the recital of the creed gave them such pleasure, that they wept for joy. In a short time after this visit, the whole island was converted and baptized.

When they visited the king in his palace, he was seated on a floor, covered with a curious sort of mat, made of leaves of the date-tree. He was a little man, but corpulent; having a covering of needle-work on his head, a very valuable chain about his neck, and a gold ring ornamented with precious stones

stones in each ear ; a piece of bombasine covered his privities, and the rest of his body was naked, painted as it were with flames of fire, and other strange devices of different colours ; near him were three vessels of fine porcelain, in which were sodden eggs, and four other vessels containing wine, covered with odoriferous herbs. The prince also entertained the admiral and his train at his house, where four of his daughters, who were white and well featured, danced naked, playing at the same time on a sort of metal timbrel, and singing not disagreeably.

The king very readily granted leave to bury ashore one of the ship's crew who died on board ; and was pleased as well as surprised at the ceremonies of a Christian funeral, reverencing the cross, which was placed at the head and foot of the grave.

These people esteem scarcely any thing so much as superfine drinking-glasses : they make use of weights and measures, and are extremely just. Their houses are of wood, erected upon props, to which they mount by stairs, and their hogs, hens, and goats are kept underneath. They have a delicate fowl, the skin of which is black, about the bigness of a crow, which puts itself in the way of being swallowed by the whale, upon whose heart it feeds, and afterwards gnaws its way thro' the body ; these have been often found alive in the dead carcase of the whale, when thrown on shore by the tide.

They give gold, rice, hogs, hens, and divers other things of great value for very trifling commodities ; and fourteen pounds of iron purchase fifteen ducats.

Our admiral warned the king not to be frightened at the noise of the ordnance, which was fired off on his being baptized : he then instructed him in the Christian religion, caused him to destroy his idols, to erect the cross in many places, and to kneel

before and reverence it with joined hands. The king was named Charles, after the emperor, and the prince, Ferdinand, after his imperial majesty's brother. The king of Messana was baptized by the name of John; and the moor, whom we have before mentioned, by that of Christopher. Above five hundred people were baptized this day before mass, to whom were given common Christian names: after which, the king and his attendants dined on board of the admiral's ship, where they were received by a general discharge of cannon.

The queen, who was young and fair, with the prince's wife, and upwards of four hundred gentlewomen, was also baptized: she went to hear mass in great state, having a white cloth round her body, a hat with a triple crown, not unlike the pope's tiara, on her head, over which was flung a silken veil fringed with gold, that reached to her shoulders. She was preceded by three young women, and three men uncovered; and followed by a train of women bare-footed and wholly naked, except their heads and privities, which were veiled with silk, their hair also hanging loose about their necks and shoulders.

Almost the whole island was now converted, except one village, which would not obey the king's command; whereupon the admiral caused it to be burned, and a wooden cross to be erected upon the spot, as the people were Gentiles; had they been Mahometans, it had been stone, in allusion to the peculiar hardness of their hearts.

The king's brother not being as yet converted, sacrifices were offered to some idols still subsisting, for his health, he being very much out of order; and this circumstance coming to the admiral's ears, he at first resented it extremely; then promised to forfeit his head, if the prince, on professing the Christian faith did not recover: in consequence of
which

which assertion, and some other arguments, the prince being a man of good sense and ready wit, was persuaded to be baptized, and soon recovered, to the joy and amazement of all the people.

At some distance from Zubut is the island of Mathan, the inhabitants of which cover no part of their bodies but their privities. The males hang a small gold ring to the head of the foreskin, and take as many wives as they chuse, one of whom is looked upon generally as the principal; their funeral ceremonies, and those attending their sacrificing of a hog to the sun, are remarkable.

The women are the principal priests, as well as mourners; they go to the house of the deceased, where they inclose the body with boughs of trees, covered over with pieces of cotton like a tent; then his principal wife stretches herself upon him, limb to limb, and laments in concert with another, who cuts his hair by little and little: when the one ceaseth to cut, the other, instead of lamenting, sings; in the mean time, myrrh, storax, and other perfumes are burned about the room. These ceremonies last for five days; during which time, they tell you, that for five hours, reckoning from mid-night, the raven perches on the house-top, and croaks in concert with the howlings of the neighbouring dogs. Lastly, they inclose the body in a wooden tomb.

Certain bells are rung introductory to their sacrificing to the sun; then three platters are brought forth; the first containing rice and honey boiled, and rolled up in leaves: the second is replenished with roasted fish; and the third contains a linen cloth with two fillets, which is spread on the ground: then two old women, each holding a reed trumpet, stand upon the cloth, one of whom applies to her forehead one of the fillets, to which are fastened two horns, sounding her trumpet and

dancing; after these gesticulations, she makes a sort of barbarous address to the sun, to which they had at first paid a sort of reverence, and in this she is answered by her companion; then some wine is brought, which, after putting to her mouth, she pours on the hog, which is tied in the midst of the cloth, and which she kills with a lance brought to her for that purpose, after many ridiculous ceremonies; a light is put into the mouth of the hog, and the other beldam, washing the head of her trumpet in his blood, afterwards wets her fingers with it, and signs the foreheads of her husband, and such other men as are present; at last they lay aside their priestly garments, and eat the rice, &c. but no men are suffered to partake with them; however, they are allowed to feed on the flesh of the hog, which they are not at any rate to touch till it is thus consecrated, and afterwards signed by these mumbling witches.

The government of the island of Mathan was divided between two princes, named Zula and Cilapulapu; which last refusing to pay tribute to the king of Spain, the admiral marched at the head of sixty men, armed with helmets and coats of mail, and was killed in battle by a poisoned arrow, and a stroke received in the face from a cane lance; eight or nine men were slain besides himself, and fifteen of the barbarians; but many more of the latter were wounded. Cilapulapu had drawn out three armies against him, each containing above two thousand men well armed with arrows, darts, javelins, &c. nor would he allow Magellan's body to be ransomed at any rate.

Odoardo Barbosa a Portuguese, and John Serrano were chosen to command in Magellan's place; but the latter was soon after betrayed into the hands of the islanders by the interpreter.

A few

A few days before the admiral's death, they had some intelligence of the Molucca islands. From Mathan they sailed to a very distant island called Bohol. In this voyage they agreed to divide between the other ships the lading of the Conception, and to burn her, as their number was considerably reduced. They then steered south-west towards Pavilohon, inhabited by blacks.

Hence they came to Chippit, in eight degrees north latitude, where they were entertained in a very friendly manner, and found plenty of rice, ginger, hogs, goats, hens, &c. The king of this island, on his receiving them, drew blood from his left hand, with which he touched his body, his face, and the tip of his tongue; the Spaniards did the same, it being with them a sign of amity.

Forty leagues from Chippit is an island named Caghalian, which is but poorly inhabited, by exiles from the isle of Borneo; they have a great deal of gold, and use poisoned arrows.

Twenty-five leagues hence, between west and north-west is the island of Pulaon, in nine degrees twenty minutes north latitude, a fertile country, yielding plenty of rice, ginger, hogs, goats, hens, cocos, bananas, sugar-canes, figs of an extraordinary large size, and some wholesome roots. The people go naked, use poisoned arrows, are fond of cock-fighting, and have rice-wine much stronger than that of palm, which soon produces intoxication.

Ten leagues south-west of Pulaon, in five degrees five minutes north latitude, and an hundred and seventy six degrees and one third longitude from their place of departure, is the island of Borneo, which is large and wealthy, there being above twenty-five thousand houses in the chief city, which is twenty-five leagues from the mouth of the harbour. This is the residence of the king, who hath

under him many lesser sovereigns, and is very powerful; he hath several concubines, and ten secretaries, who write on the barks of trees, being strangers to the use of paper; his household is managed by women, and he is revered by the hands joined, and lifted three times above the head; his court is very magnificent, and his guards are numerous. He sent the Christians several presents, and two elephants covered with silk, to bring their chiefs to court, whom he received in a very friendly manner. He has in his possession two round smooth pearls, as large as hen eggs. On the 29th of July, they were attacked by more than an hundred Junks, whom they repulsed, taking four of them, with their crews, among whom was the king of Borneo's captain-general, who was just returned from the sacking of a city called Lao; and, had not the pilot, to whose care he had been entrusted, let him escape, his ransom had been worth a considerable sum. This island produces camphire, which is a gum; ginger, cinnamon, lemons, oranges, swine, goats, elephants, horses, &c.

They next arrived at Cimbubon, in eight degrees seven minutes north latitude, where they staid to refit their ships, and supply themselves with fuel and fresh water, in procuring which they were greatly fatigued, as their shoes, and indeed all their other apparel were worn out. Here are crocodiles, ostriches, wild hogs; and they caught a fish with two horns, the body being all of one bone, which had something on its back like a saddle.

Antonio Pagafatta tells us of a tree, not unlike the mulberry, growing here, the leaves of which are animalcular, and have a spontaneity of motion when they fall to the ground; he supposes them to live on air, and says, he kept a couple of them eight days in a bowl, which would avoid his finger on being touched by it.

They

They now steered south-east in quest of the Molucca islands. Here the sea is full of weeds; and on one side they saw very high mountains: passing by Zolo and Taghima, famous for pearl, from whence the king of Borneo had his very large ones, and then steering north-east, they took a canoe off the great city of Mangdando, in six degrees seven minutes north latitude, and from the people on board received further information concerning the Moluccas. On the banks of a neighbouring river, they were told of certain robust hairy cannibals, that eat human hearts raw with the juice of oranges and lemons: here, for two knives, they bought twenty-seven pound of cinnamon. They again steered south-east, and passed by the islands of Citoco, Biramboia, Sarangani, and Candingar.

After a very violent tempest, they put into the island of Sarangani, from whence they forced two pilots to conduct them to the Moluccas; and, on the sixth of November, in the twenty seventh month of their departure from Spain, after having passed many islands, the names of which, for brevity's sake, we omit, they came in sight of the Moluccas; on which occasion they gave thanks to God, and discharged all their ordnance. The soundings in these seas were not any where less than an hundred and two yards, tho' the Portuguese had represented them as dangerous for their shallows and rocks, as well as the darkness of the sky; but this fable they invented to intimidate other nations from undertaking this voyage.

On the 8th of November, 1521, they came into the harbour of Tidore, the chief of all the Molucca islands, where the sultan Raia Mauzor entertained them as his brethren; he was a Moor, and swore upon the koran, to live always in friendship with the king of Spain, out of respect to whom he

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changed the name of the island from Tidore to Castile.

On the 12th of November, the king gave them a warehouse for the reception of their merchandize; and, for ten yards of cloth, they received four hundred and six pound of cloves; for fifteen yards of a coarser sort, the same quantity of cambie; as much for thirty-five drinking glasses; and the same for seventeen cathyls of quick-silver.

The ships were plentifully supplied with goats, hens, figs a span long, and all sorts of provision; as well as with fresh water brought from a hot spring in the mountains that bear the clove-trees, the steam of which daily encompassth them like a cloud: this water grows cold when it has stood a little. They have also some nutmeg-trees in this place.

The Molucca islands are five in number, viz. Tarenate, situated in twenty seven minutes north latitude, the king of which was once sovereign of the whole; Tidore, of which we have now spoken, in four minutes south latitude; Mutir under the line, and Macchian in fifteen minutes south latitude, both governed by the people as republics; and Bacchian, ruled by a king, lies in one degree south latitude, and is the largest of the five.

The king of Bacchian sent, as a present to the king of Spain, two dead birds of paradise, about the bigness of turtle-doves, with small heads, long bills, long taper legs, and tails like turtles; they have no wings, but instead thereof large feathers variously coloured, and they fly only when the wind blows.

These islands have not been peopled with Moors above fifty years, the original inhabitants being Gentiles, and very brutish, particularly the women, who are naked except their privities, which they cover with the bark of a tree; which bark,
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being steeped in water, may be beaten out very broad, to the consistence of silk.

These produce sugar-canes, coco, melons, gourds, almonds, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, honey made by bees smaller than ants, and several other fruits, particularly one of a very cold nature called camulicai; also goats, sheep, hens, and red and white, as well as other coloured popinjays. Here are also found rice, sea-gol, of which they make bread, ginger, nutmegs, and cloves; the latter are at first white, but red when ripe, and become black with keeping; they are gathered twice a-year, in June and December, and grow ten or twenty in a cluster on the top of a bough, which is thickest in the middle. The tree that bears them is about the height and size of a man, the leaves not much different from the bay; the bark of an olive colour; and the bark, leaf, and wood, when green, smell as strong as the clove.

The island of Gilolo is opposite to Tidore, where there are two kings, one of whom has six hundred, the other six hundred and fifty children. The inhabitants are a mixture of Moors and Gentiles, which last change their god daily, worshipping the first thing they meet in a morning. Their king is said to be very rich.

It was with regret the kings of the island suffered them to depart, embracing them at their going, with tears in their eyes, sending many presents to the emperor, and conducting them in their canoes to an island called Mare, where they took in wood and water. Here they were obliged to leave one of their ships, on account of her springing a leak, which they could not then stop, under care of some of their men, whom they ordered, if possible, to bring her home to Spain.

Being now reduced to forty six Europeans, and only thirteen Indians, they steered south-west from
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the island of Mare, passing by the islands of Chacuan, Lagoma, Sico, Goghi, Caphi, Sulacho, Lumatolo, Tenetum, Buru, Ambon, Budia, Celaruri, Benaia, Ambalao, Bandon, Zorobua, Zolot, Nocvamor, Galian, &c. till they came to Mallua, in eight degrees thirty minutes south latitude, where they tarried fifteen days to repair; and found plenty of pepper, with leaves like those of the mulberry. The inhabitants are men-eaters; the women use bows and arrows; and the men wear their hair and beards rolled up on canes.

They were told by their Molucca pilots, of people in a neighbouring island called Arucetto, only a cubit high, with such long ears, that they cover themselves with one, while they repose on the other; but to this account they gave little credit, nor could they go themselves to examine the truth, wind and tide being against them.

On the 25th of January, 1522, they left Molucca, and the day following arrived at the island of Timor, where there is plenty of gold and provision, with ginger, and many kinds of fruits: the venereal distemper is commoner here than in any other part of the world.

From hence, at a vast distance west north-west they came up with the island of Eude, where there is plenty of cinnamon. There are many islands scattered thro' this tract, as far as Guiava-Major and the cape of Malacha in the East-Indies. Guiava the Lesser is as big as the island of Madeira, and is but half a league from the Greater Guiava.

They departed from the island of Timor on the 11th of February, 1522, steering west south-west, leaving the northern coasts to the right, passing without Sumatra, and avoiding the Terra Firma because of the Portuguese, and were seven weeks beating off the Cape of Good Hope with the wind a-head.

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When they had doubled the cape, some were for venturing into the Mozambick, which belonged to the Portuguese, because victualling grew short, and several of their men were sick ; but this scheme being strongly opposed, they continued at sea two months longer, sailing south-west without touching any where, in which time they lost one and twenty men whom they buried in the sea, and they were all near dying for want.

Thus weakened and distressed, they were forced into St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, in the hands of Portugal, where they sent deputies on shore to represent their miseries, and entreat assistance and provision. They were allowed some measures of rice, which being consumed, thirteen of the men who went ashore for that or some other sort of provision, were clapped into prison, a circumstance which struck such a panic into the rest, that they hoisted sail, and quitted these territories as expeditiously as possible.

On the 7th of September they came to anchor in the port of St. Lucar near Sevil, where having discharged their ordnance for joy, they proceeded barefooted, and in their shirts, to the cathedral church, to thank God for their preservation.

The straits which they had discovered, were first called the Straits of St. Victoria, from this ship, a name that has since justly given place to that of the great Magellan. The other ship which they had left behind them at the island of Mare, afterwards returned by the Great Sea to the West-Indies, and arrived at Darien, where the South Sea is divided from the Western Ocean, only by a small tract of land ; and here lie Hispaniola, Cuba, and other islands belonging to the Spaniards.



The First VOYAGE of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE.

C H A P. I.

Some account of sir Francis Drake's father, and his first going to sea : he is ill used by the Spaniards ; but escapes and suffers great distress. Serves the queen for some time ; sails with three ships on an expedition against the Spaniards ; builds a pinnace at Port Pheasant, and is joined by captain Rawse ; takes two small vessels : some account of the nation of the Symerons. Drake proceeds with his pinnaces up the country, attacks Nombre de Dios, and is wounded. Rawse leaves them : Drake seizes three ships in the road of Carthagena ; sinks one of his own ships, and careens in the sound of Darien : he lands on the side of the Rio Grande, and is well treated by the Spaniards : endangered by a storm ; boards several vessels, and gets plenty of provision. One of his brothers makes a league with the Symerons ; another of them dies. He begins his march over land for Panama ; has a view of the South Sea for the first time : receives intelligence of vast treasure ; but disappointed of it by the folly of one of his men. Santa Cruz plundered : Drake's civility to the ladies : an account of a rich miser : he receives farther intelligence, and is joined by a French ship.

THE employment of sir Francis Drake's father has been disputed by Stowe and Camden ; the former affirming him to have followed the sea ; the latter to have belonged to the church, and to have

have held the living of Upnore on the banks of the river Medway: this account we should rather incline to believe, notwithstanding Stowe's great accuracy and industry, as Camden tell us, that he had his information from sir Francis himself. Let this be as it will, it is pretty certain that he was born in or near Tavistock in Devonshire, about the year 1540; that his father was a very zealous protestant, and removed into Kent while his son was yet in his infancy.

That his father was a man of some estimation is evident, from the honour done him by Francis earl of Bedford, who stood godfather to our illustrious adventurer, and distinguished him by his own name; the only advantage he seems to have derived from this nobleman, at least in his younger years. He was bound apprentice to the master of a vessel trading to Holland and France, whom he pleased so extremely well, that he left him his ship when he died, being unmarried, and having no heir. In this he sailed for some time; but sold it, to go purser of a ship to the Bay of Biscay; after which expedition he made a voyage to the coast of Guinea, being then only twenty years old. In 1665 he sailed with captain Lovel to the West Indies, where he had some reason to complain of the usage of the Spaniards: and in 1677, having disposed of his whole substance for that purpose, he joined sir John Haukins in his expedition to the coast of Guinea, where having taken in a cargo of slaves, they determined to steer for the Caribbee islands, as the best market, but were by foul weather forced into St. John de Ulua, a Spanish settlement in the bay of Mexico, where, had they been dishonourable in their proceedings, they might have made a considerable booty, by seizing some ships then lying in the harbour, very richly laden; but this step they avoided, and the Spaniards retaliated their generosity,

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by taking the first opportunity of treacherously assaulting the English fleet, which they almost entirely destroyed, treating such of the sailors as fell into their hands in the cruellest manner imaginable.

The Judith, of which Drake was master, together with one vessel more, were all that escaped out of the six that had accompanied Hawkins; these got out to sea, where they suffered extremely for want of provision, nor was it without great difficulty and hardship that Drake once more reached his native country, firmly resolving to revenge, if possible, this perfidious usage upon the Spaniards; and his adherence to this resolution appears in the glorious achievements of his ensuing life.

He served the crown for some time, on board of one of the queen's ships; by which means having in a good measure repaired his shattered fortune, he made another voyage to the Spanish West-Indies in the year 1570, with the Dragon and the Swan; and in 1571 with the Swan only, purely for the sake of surveying the coasts, and examining more closely into the strength and riches of the Spanish settlements, that he might be the better enabled to strike such a blow as would at the same time contribute to his glory and advantage, and reduce the insolence of these haughty unrelenting plunderers.

His character of integrity as a man, his skill as a sailor, and prudence as an officer being now firmly established, he no sooner publicly declared his intention of steering to the Spanish settlements in America, to make reprisals, than he was joined by a sufficient number of volunteers; and on the 24th of May, 1572, he set sail from Plymouth, in the Pasca, burthen seventy tons, accompanied by the Swan of two hundred and fifty tons burthen, under command of his brother John Drake: his compa-
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68 THE FIRST VOYAGE OF

ny consisted of seventy three men and boys, and he was furnished not only with a year's provision, but well stored with ammunition; having three pinnaces besides, that might upon occasion be soon put together, stowed on board in pieces.

On the 2d of June they made the Canary islands; and on the 29th of the same month passed between Guardaloupe and Dominica; on the south side of which they came to anchor, where they remained three days to refresh their men, and found several cottages of palm-tree boughs, but no sign of inhabitants: whence they inferred them to be the occasional residence of fisher-men. They left this place on the 1st of July, bending their course towards the main land of America, and made Port Pheasant, so called by Drake in a former voyage, from the many birds of that sort found hereabouts.

This being a convenient port, he chose here to build his pinnaces, timber fit for that purpose growing all along the shore; and James Rawse, in an Isle of Wight bark, with thirty men, who put into the same harbour in a few days after, being informed that they designed to surprise Nombre de Dios, determined to join them.

They quitted this place on the 22d of July, and in three days after took two small vessels laden with plank coming from Nombre de Dios, the crews of which informed them, that some soldiers from the governor of Panama were daily expected at that town, to protect it from the insults of the Symerons, a black people, inhabiting the country between that place and Panama, being slaves that had about eighty years before fled from the cruelty of their Spanish tyrants, and by degrees erected themselves into a nation. These people he treated very civilly, setting them ashore, in hopes that their report of his kindness might make the Symerons befriend him;

him; and knowing it was impossible for them to convey any intelligence about him to the town before his arrival, it being a considerable journey by land.

However, taking with him fifty three men, with drums, trumpets, and warlike stores, he proceeded in the pinnaces, leaving the rest of his company with the ships, under the care of captain Rawse, in a secure and secret situation.

He kept close under the shore all day, rowing hard at night till he came into the harbour, where getting between the town and a small ship just arrived from Old Spain, laden with canary wine and other things, he forced her to the other side of the bay, by these means preventing her from spreading the alarm; and landing without any resistance, marched up to the fort, in which he found but six brass guns, and a few culverins, which he dismounted. There happened to be but one man in the place, who fled and alarmed the town.

Drake leaving a few of his men to guard the pinnaces, and some others to keep possession of the fort, marched to reconnoitre a high ground, where he knew there had been a design of planting some pieces of cannon, but he found it had not been yet carried into execution. He then divided the sailors that accompanied him into two parties, consisting of sixteen men each; one under the command of John Oxenham, was ordered to enter the town on the east end, near the market-place, while he himself led the rest up the principal street, drums beating and colours flying: his brother John Drake coming up at the same time, struck such a consternation into the few inhabitants, who had drawn themselves up near the governor's house, covering the gate leading to Panama, in order to secure a retreat, that, imagining the English to be much more numerous than they were in reality, they threw down their arms, and precipitately fled after

two or three firings. The alarm-bell still continued ringing; Drake ordered it to be silenced, and marched forwards towards the royal treasury, which was at that time immensely rich: in passing by the governor's house they perceived a horse ready saddled, as they supposed to carry off some person of consequence; and in the storehouse, the door of which was by chance in the confusion left open, an immense quantity of silver in large bars, none of which the men were allowed to meddle with, the aim of their leader being at commodities much more valuable.

But a very violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, common to the climate, happening at the same time, damaged their arms, and much disheartened the men, who were also alarmed with an account of their pinnaces being in some danger; this intimation threw them into confusion: however, our intrepid adventurer insisted upon their proceeding, and would have certainly executed his design of plundering the treasury, had he not become faint thro' loss of blood, issuing from a wound in his leg, which he had hitherto concealed; nor was he without difficulty prevailed with to let it be swathed in his scarf, and to be carried on board of the pinnace. In consequence of this misfortune, they were obliged to retreat to their vessels, with the loss of one man, who happened to be the trumpeter.

They retired to a small but plentiful island, about two leagues from the town, where they refreshed themselves, and were much mortified at hearing of the vast riches they had left behind, an account of which they not only learned from a negroe that had deserted to them from the Spaniards, but from the mouth of a gentleman who waited on them with a very civil message from the governor, who still dreaded another visit.

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They then fell down the river to Port Plenty, in the Isle of Pines, where they had left their ships, which they reached August 1st, when they were quitted by captain Rawse, who declared his entertaining no farther hopes of their success, since they were discovered all along the coast.

After tarrying here six days, Drake sailed for Carthagena, where, by the firing of the ordnance and ringing the bells they found they were discovered; but they seized upon a ship, burthen two hundred and forty tons, that lay in the road, outward bound; as also two smaller vessels, dispatched thither from Nombre de Dios, to give notice that Drake was on the coast; the crews of the latter he treated very civilly, setting them ashore at their own request.

He now, in concert with the carpenter of the Swan, contrived to sink her, and this was done with a view of strengthening his pinnace, tho', had the sailors, who are generally obstinate, known it, they would never have allowed the scheme to take effect: the affair was so artfully conducted, that the hold was full of water, by means of three holes bored for that purpose in her bottom by the carpenter, before it was in the least suspected; and by Drake's advice, after they had shifted her cargo, as they could not find the leak readily, they set fire to her, to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands.

He then appointed his brother to command his own ship, and went himself on board of the pinnace, the use of which he very well knew. As he was determined not to quit the coast without his booty, he found a convenient plentiful spot in the sound of Darien, wherein to erect tents for his men, and prepare such warlike stores as he stood in need of; here they were well covered from view, and in a neighbouring creek he secreted his vessel; by these means

means hoping to have it believed that he was gone entirely off the coast.

Leaving his brother here to take care of the ship, and the rest of the men, on the 8th of September he proceeded with two pinnaces for the Rio Grande, keeping as much as possible out of sight. They landed about two leagues to the westward of Carthagena, where the Indians, whom they treated with great cordiality, supplied them with cattle and fresh provision, for which they gave them some pleasing trifles in exchange, and were promised to be always supplied.

The next day they came to the mouth of the river, where they were assailed by a terrible storm, and were afterwards pestered by the musketoes, against whose attacks they defended themselves by anointing their bodies with lemon juice. The channel hereabouts was twenty three fathom deep, and so broad, that to see from shore to shore required a strong eye-sight: here they saw several houses, and being beckoned to by a Spaniard, they made for the shore, when he, perceiving them not to be his countrymen, as he had at first imagined, betook himself to his heels; however, they landed, and found some good bacon, cheese, white rusk, with different sorts of sweet-meats and conserves, together with a large quantity of sugar, so that they supplied their vessels with as much as they wanted.

In his course back he boarded several vessels, in hope of finding gold, but was disappointed, they being loaded only with provisions and other necessaries: however, from these he received information of such preparations as were making against him by the Spaniards. On the 13th of September he returned to Port Plenty, with provisions enough to serve a numerous army, which was disposed of in such a manner, that if the island should in part be surpris'd by the Spaniards, and their
provision

provision be cut off, there should yet remain sufficiency in another.

During his absence, his brother John had concluded a league of friendship with the Symérons; and he promised to give them all the assistance possible against the Spaniards, from whom these people informed him they had lately taken a large quantity of gold and silver, which they had thrown into the river, at a depth, whence it was impossible to recover it; for it was a commodity to which they paid no regard, having seized it for no other reason but because they knew their enemies were fond of it.

As the Spaniards avoid bringing down their treasures in the rainy season, which now approached, Drake resolved to stay, cruising in these seas till the usual time of their arrival, and plundered a vast number of ships; during which time several of his men, among whom was his brother Joseph Drake, died of calentures; and, not long before, his brother John was slain in gallantly boarding a frigate, which escaped him: after which accident he moored his ship, resolving to appear no more till he was certain of the Spanish treasure being arrived at Nombre de Dios, which he was soon assured of, not only by the Symérons, who brought him constant intelligence, but also by some passengers whom he seized in a frigate that passed near him, whose throats he found it difficult to save from the revenge of the Symérons; by whom being encouraged thereto, and having had strong proofs of their fidelity, he determined to march over land to Panama, the Symérons, who guided them, carrying a large quantity of provisions, and when these failed, supplying them by means of their bows and arrows.

This journey was begun on the 3d of February, by a company of forty-eight people, eighteen of whom were English, who had nothing to incom-

mode them but their arms: on the third day of their journey, they came to a town belonging to the Symerons, situated on the side of a hill, not far from a good river, and enclosed with a high mud-wall. The inhabitants were very neat, differing in dress very little from the Spaniards, and behaving with great sincerity: here their attendants, or rather guides, bathed themselves, and changed their apparel; all kinds of provision seemed to be very plenty, and they revered the cross, tho' they did not seem to have much notion of religion: however, our leader had some of them taught the Lord's Prayer, and instructed in the reformed religion.

This town is thirty-five leagues from Nombre de Dios, and fifty-five from Panama; it is guarded carefully from the Spaniards, against whom their hatred of this people is implacable, for they often surprise, and cut them off in the woods. He left this place on the 7th of February, having staid there but one night; and on the 17th of the same month ascended a very high hill, where, from a tree that the Symerons pointed out to him, he on the one hand beheld the North-Sea, which he had left, and the South-Sea on the other, whither, from that moment he determined, if possible, to sail in an English ship; a thought which seems not to have been harboured by any person before that time. In a plain, two days journey beyond this, the soil is so very fruitful, that the grass grows beyond the reach of the cattle, so that the inhabitants destroy it five or six times in the year; notwithstanding which, it springs up again in three days; and this is ascribed to the fertile dews that daily fall in this delightful climate.

Panama being now often in sight, they were obliged to keep as close as possible; for which reason they struck out of the common road, and at last

last secretly arrived in a grove lying in the road to Nombre de Dios, at a very little distance from Panama; here they sent out a Symeron in disguise, by way of spy, who soon returned with intelligence, that the treasurer of Lima intended that very night, together with his family, to set out for Nombre de Dios, there to embark for Old Spain; having in his train fourteen mules, some loaden with gold, some with silver, and one with valuable jewels; and this night also, there would pass the same way two caravans, each attended by fifty mules, loaden with some provision, and a small quantity of silver.

Soon after the receipt of this intelligence, they seized upon a centinel who confirmed the account; in consequence of which Drake hid himself, with half his men, fifty paces from the high way, while John Oxenham, and one of the Symeron chiefs, with the other half, took post on the opposite side. In short, things were admirably disposed, when one of the men, who had drank too much, got up to see what approached, just as the mules loaden with provision were passing, of which Drake had commanded that not the least notice might be taken, and being perceived by a Spaniard, who suspected something extraordinary from such an appearance, he having a white shirt on, which was their mark of distinction, the Don made off as fast as he could, and spread the alarm, so that the treasurer turned his baggage out of the road; and only the mules with provision came forward, some of which they seized, and, to their mortification, got only two horse-loads of silver; the muleteer at the same time telling them they were discovered.

However, they marched forward to Santa Cruz, having first refreshed themselves, and made use of the mules to carry them, which they dismissed as they came near the town, where they were met by

a party of soldiers, who summoned them to surrender, promising them kind usage; an offer which they made very light off, standing to receive their fire, and so effectually returned it, that the enemy was soon put to flight, upon whose rear they followed hard, and entered the town with them pell-mell; the Symerons supporting them very bravely, and thro' the whole action behaving with great intrepidity.

Santa Cruz consists of about fifty pretty houses; it has a governor and other officers, and there are strong ware-houses to receive the goods which are brought down hither from Nombre de Dios, by the river Chagra; from hence they are carried by mules to Panama. Here he found some plunder, all which he divided equally among the Symerons and his own men. There were three ladies here who had come to this place to lie in, the air being much better than at Nombre de Dios, to which they belonged; no sooner was the captain informed of their situation, than he ordered them an especial protection, visiting them himself as soon as possible, to prevent their labouring under any unnecessary fears. It was one of Drake's principal rules every where, to behave with as much humanity and decorum as circumstances would permit; a conduct that contributed not only to the increase of his reputation, but often to the success of his expeditions.

Tho' he was determined to tarry upon the coast some time longer, he was uneasy for his ship, from which he had now been about a fortnight absent; wherefore he returned by the way that he had come, as expeditiously as possible, and found every thing in as good order as he had left it; a circumstance which gave him some satisfaction. He now held a general council, wherein was debated what was next to be attempted; and some of the Symerons advised the attacking

tacking the house of Pezoro, a miserable wretch deeply concerned in the mines, whose income was above two hundred pounds a day, which he looked up in large chests. He lived near Veragua, a town to the west of Nombre de Dios, his house being of stone, and out of danger of being burned; however, the Symeron, having been formerly in his service, promised to guide them to his treasures without any great difficulty. But some of Drake's men proposed they should consider, prior to every thing, how to preserve their healths, by obtaining fresh supplies of provisions, of which they had very little remaining.

This step the captain thought very necessary; wherefore he ordered the Bear frigate towards Toulou, under the care of John Oxenham, with orders to bring off whatever provisions he could meet with; while he himself intended to ply off the Cabezas, in hope of picking up some of the treasure barks that pass and repass between Veragua and Nicaragua. The expedition against Pezoro he wisely imagined too laborious for his men, as they must march over a large tract of land, and cut their way thro' the woods, whereas he intended to preserve their strength for another attempt less laborious, and not less beneficial.

Oxenham took but one frigate, with about two hundred hens, twenty eight hogs, and good store of maiz; the captain himself was obliged to retire, finding by the firing of several guns along the coast that he was discovered, having seized only a small vessel, in which there was some gold, and a pilot born in Genoa, who informed them that they had spread an universal terror every where, and that Pezoro was removing to the South Sea with all his riches, for fear of falling into their hands. From the prisoners that Oxenham had seized, they understood there were two gallies

built at Nombre de Dios, but not yet lanchèd, which were intended as a convoy to the Chagra fleet, the treasures of which now principally engrossed our adventurer's attention, who to give his men proper spirits, entertained them all in a sumptuous manner on the 20th of March, being Easter-Sunday.

They were the next day alarmed by the appearance of a sail bearing down on them, which proved to be a French ship, the crew of which were in great want of water, wherewith Drake supplied them, and they being informed of his designs, offered to join him, which after some deliberation was permitted, as this ship was eighty tons burthen; theirs being but twenty, and the pinnace no more than ten tons.

CHAP. II.

Drake steers to Rio-Francisco, where he leaves his frigate, and goes forward with his pinnaces: he seizes several mules loaded with gold and silver: they lose two of the Frenchmen: makes a dangerous attempt to gain his pinnaces, about which he has some fears; but at last comes up with them: the French ship leaves them: Drake rewards the Symerons and dismisses them: an instance of his integrity: obtains a timely store of fresh water: the use of the Symerons: Drake's humanity in this expedition: arrives at Plymouth: serves against the rebels in Ireland; and afterwards is protected by lord chancellor Hatton.

LEAVING the two ships in a safe harbour, they manned the frigate and two pinnaces with twenty French, and fifteen English and Symerons, bending their course to Rio Francisco; here the water being shallow, they left the frigate under the
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care of one Dubble, charging him to lie close till they returned with the pinnaces; with which they proceeded as far as convenient, and then landed, giving Dubble orders to meet them there again in three or four days; they marched forward with great regularity and silence, guided by the Symérons, to the great amazement of the French, to whom these people bore no great love, and halted within a mile of the high road, by which the mules must necessarily pass, where they reposed and refreshed themselves.

Next day being the 1st of April, 1753, they were agreeably disturbed by the noise of the bells which are hung about the mules, and sallied out upon three caravans, one consisting of fifty, the two others of seventy mules, each richly laden with gold and silver: they were guarded by forty five soldiers, who after discharging their arms, whereby the French captain was severely wounded, and one Symeron killed, retreated in order to summon more assistance: the adventurers made the best use possible of their time, loading themselves with as many wedges of gold as they could carry, and burying the rest of the treasure in the sand, resolving to return to recover it as soon as they could safely stow what they thought most valuable; they then retreated towards Rio-Francisco, leaving behind them the French captain, who fainted in the wood with loss of blood, and one French sailor who had overloaded himself with gold, and who discovered the spot in which they had buried what treasure they had left behind, on being put to the torture by the Spaniards, into whose hands he fell.

On the following day, being the 3d of April, they came down to Rio Francisco, where seeing no sign of the pinnaces, they began to fear they were lost; and the more so, as seven Spanish pinnaces were hover-

ing at a distance, whom happily a sudden gust of wind and rain forced to sheer off.

Drake began now to fear that, in case his pinnaces were taken, they would put his men to the torture to force them to discover where his frigate and the ships were; but knowing if this was really the case, they would be some time before they could reach his ships, he encouraged and assisted his men in making a raft, for attempting to get on board, hoping to be beforehand with the enemy. In this attempt he was accompanied only by one Englishman called John Smith, two hardy Frenchmen and a Symeron, which last endeavoured to persuade him, in case his ships were destroyed, to live among his countrymen, who, he assured him, would do any thing for his service.

Having lashed the raft pretty securely, erected a sail made of a biscuit bag, and fixed a sort of rudder; they committed themselves to the mercy of the waves, sitting up to the waist in water, often up to the arm-pits; and after a fatiguing voyage of about six hours, obtained sight of their pinnaces lying behind a point, where Drake rightly judged they would anchor; he immediately ran his raft on the nearest shore, and went round to them by land, where after keeping them for some time in suspense, he unfolded to them his vast success, acquainting the Frenchmen with the loss of their two countrymen, for which he promised to procure them satisfaction. He now learned that a hard gale from the west had prevented the pinnaces from coming up to Rio Francisco at the time appointed; however, they made a shift to reach it that night, where they took in their comrades and the treasure, then directly steered for their frigate and the ships, where the captain divided the gold and silver in two equal parts, between the French and English, to their mutual satisfaction.

Some few days after this partition, when they had regulated every thing, Drake sent a detachment of twelve English and sixteen Symerons to bring away the rest of the treasure; but they could find only thirteen bars of silver and some wedges of gold, the rest having been discovered and carried away, and the ground dug up for a mile round; however, they brought this off, together with one of the Frenchmen they had left behind, who by chance escaped from the hands of the Spaniards.

Their thoughts were now seriously bent on returning home, but first imagined a visit to Rio Grande not amiss, as thereabouts they might chance to light on some small vessels laden with provision, which they stood in need of, before they set out upon their voyage to Europe. The French ship having been before formally dismissed, left them off Carthagena, within two leagues of which Drake passed, with St. George's flag flying at his main-top mast head; about two the same morning they seized a frigate from Rio Grande, laden with maiz, hens, hogs, and honey, the last of which was of vast service to their sick.

In five days they arrived at Cabezas, where they staid seven days, and here they took their pinnaces to pieces, allowing the Symerons to take out of them, and also of the frigates, the iron work, of which they are extremely fond; and whatever else they should take a liking to; the captain at the same time making them several presents of linen and silks, for their wives and female relations. One of them presented him with four wedges of gold, in return for a very handsome cutlass, which he gave him; and these, such was his disinterested integrity, he threw into the common stock, declaring, that he thought it would be unjust not to share with his owners and copartners,

who bought the cutlafs, the price for which it was fold.

Off the Havannah, they took a bark laden with hides, which they difmiffed, after having lightened her of her cargo, which proved of great ufe to them in mending their pumps.

At Cape St. Antony they ftocked themfelves with turtle eggs and turtle, which did them great fervice in their voyage; and being in great want of water, there fell a prodigious ſhower of rain fo very happily as to afford them a fufficient quantity, without their touching, as had been intended, at Newfoundland.

They had been certainly much obliged to the Symérons for the fuccefs of their expedition, who not only from their natural virtue, but from their juſtly founded enmity to the Spaniards, had been induced to give them all imaginable affiſtance; ferving as their guides in the moſt intricate paths, being their purveyors, their builders, and their porters. They not only fupplied them with proviſions, but alfo made cabins for them of palm-branches, occasionally bore their heavy baggage, and two of them joined to carry any of the failors that proved faint or weary on the road: beſides, they manifeſted on many occaſions ſtrong judgment and perſpicuity, ſhewed numberleſs inſtances of unſhaken fidelity, and in every action behaved with manly courage.

Out of two hundred frigates, from one hundred to ten tons burthen, that belonged to the ſeveral contiguous ſea-ports, and failed between Carthage and Nombre de Dios, there was ſcarcely one that did not at one time or other fall into their hands in this expedition, which they generally ſet a drift to return to their owners when they judged proper, treating ſuch priſoners as fell into their hands

hands with the greatest benevolence, protecting them from the fury of the Symerons, who were their mortal enemies, and giving them their liberty at a proper season. It could not be said that they caused the death of any one prisoner that fell into their hands, or that they destroyed any one vessel that did not attempt either by treachery or open force to annoy them.

They stretched over from Cape Florida to the isles of Scilly, in twenty three days, and came to anchor in Plymouth-harbour August the 9th, 1573, in time of sermon; which the people soon quitted on notice of their arrival; the people crowding to the shore to crown him with that welcome which this glorious expedition justly demanded.

Being of a truly patriot spirit, he in some time fitted out three frigates, at his own expence, with which he served against the rebels in Ireland, under his illustrious patron Walter earl of Essex, and was of great advantage to the crown. When this nobleman died, he was befriended by Christopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain, and afterwards lord chancellor, thro' whose means he obtained the queen's commission to go to the South Sea, his former successes procuring him plenty of volunteers, and all who were acquainted with his character or himself contributing to forward this expedition.

The Second VOYAGE of Sir
FRANCIS DRAKE.

CHAP. I.

Drake sails from Plymouth: his ships hurt by a storm: arrives at Magadore: the inhabitants make him offers of assistance; but prove treacherous, and carry off one of his men, who is sent home by the king of Fesse: he seizes some fishing-vessels and a large ship, at Cape Blanco; where the inhabitants sell their women and children: he comes up with the isle of May; the climate temperate, and why: the island of St. Fogo an asylum for runaway slaves: a volcano discovered; they approach the Cape de verde islands; they pass the equinoctial, and are divided from the Christopher: Drake near being lost in the river Plate; the natives grew familiar, and steal his hat; a conspiracy against the admiral at Port St. Julian; captain Doughty hanged.

ON the 15th of November 1573, Drake failed out of Plymouth-Sound, with five ships, viz. the Pelican, afterwards called the Hind, burthen one hundred tons, commanded by himself; the Elizabeth, of eighty tons, John Winter captain; the Marigold, a bark of thirty tons burthen, under the care of John Thomas; the Swan, a fly boat of fifty tons, John Chester commander; and a pinnace of fifteen tons, under the command of Thomas Moon: but they were forced by contrary winds into Falmouth; where being much damaged by a violent storm, in which the main mast of the Pelican went by the board, and the Marigold was driven on shore, they were obliged to put back to Plymouth to refit, whence, having repaired all damages, they set sail in good condition

tion on the 13th of December, with the wind much more favourable than it had been before.

On the 25th of the same month, they saw Cape Cantin, a high land of Barbary, situated in thirty two degrees thirteen minutes north latitude, and on the 27th arrived off Magdore, eighteen leagues more to the southward, the place which had been appointed for their general rendezvous, in case the ships should have been separated.

The island is about a mile from the main land, under the dominion of Fesse, and the inhabitants, tho' Mahometans, will drink privately as much wine as they can get. Here is a very good harbour, with plenty of several sorts of fowl, particularly pigeons, and some wholesome fish. They remained here four days, to put together one of their pinnaces, during which time some of the islanders approached the sea-side, making signs of peace, and two of them came on board in the admiral's boat, which was sent on shore for that purpose, and left one of its hands by way of hostage till their return; these told him the reason of their coming was, to proffer their friendship, and to know if he stood in need of provision, with which they could furnish him; which they promised to do on the following day; and the admiral having presented them with javelins, shoes, linen, and some other necessaries, dismissed them; those on shore freely releasing the hostage on the restoration of his companion.

Next day, a large body of them appeared on the sea-shore, as if loaden with goods, on which the boat put off to receive them; and one of the men leaping out hastily, as he imagined himself among friends, was immediately seized upon, and others of them quitting an ambuscade in which they had secreted themselves, the sailors were glad to recover their boat, and put off with precipitation.

This

This piece of treachery irritated the admiral extremely, who landing a body of men, marched a good way into the country to no purpose, for the Moors every where avoided him; and the pinnace being finished, they left this place on the 30th of December.

The name of him, who had been made prisoner, was John Fry; he was carried before the king of Fesse, where he was examined with respect to his country and destination of this fleet; and having answered that they were English, bound to the streights, under admiral Drake, who had artfully caused this report to be spread, to conceal his real design, the king sent him back with the strongest assurances of friendship, and some presents for his commander; who being gone before Fry's being set at liberty, care was taken to send him home to England in a merchant ship.

On the 3d of January, they fell in with some Spanish fishing-boats, on three of which they seized; the 17th they anchored at Cape Blanco, where they found a ship fast moored, with only two men left to guard her, and of this they made prize. Here they staid a few days to lay in a stock of fresh provisions, of which they found great plenty, and the admiral exercised his men on shore, to fit them as well for the land as the sea service: the inhabitants would have disposed of some slaves to them, for that purpose offering a poor woman with a child sucking at her breast to sale; but these were wares he did not chuse to deal in: however, he out of compassion supplied them with fresh water, of which they were in great want, they giving him in return amber-grease and other precious gums.

Having furnished themselves with such necessities as the island afforded, they discharged all their prizes, retaining only a bark of forty tons, leaving one of their own small ones behind, and
quitted

quitted Cape Blanco the 22d of January, taking with them a small Portuguese vessel bound to the Cape de Verd islands for salt.

On the 27th, they fell in with the isle of May, a high land, where were some Portuguese: here they found the villages by the sea-coast abandoned, and the fresh water wells stopped up; however, a body of men commanded by captain Winter, and Mr. Doughty, were ordered to march a little way up the country, and take a survey of it, which they did, finding the soil very fertile, great plenty of fruit, but particularly of figs, fine cocoa's, and grapes of a most delicious flavour; the air was temperate, wholesome and pleasant, tho' in the midst of winter, and this is easily accounted for, if we consider that by the nearness of this island to the line, the heat of the sun is never wanting. They saw a number of goats and kids, but too swift-footed to be easily caught; tho' they might, if they pleased, have brought off many dead and withered carcases, which were laid in their way as if to mock them. From this behaviour they inferred, as was indeed the truth, that the inhabitants had been forbid to traffic with them.

They at length discovered plenty of water, but at a distance too great from the ships to think of bringing any on board. There were also large quantities of wild hens, and salt made by the action of the sun upon the sea-water, for which there is a good trade drove with the neighbouring islands.

On the 31st of January, they arrived off St. Jago, an island the valleys of which are inhabited entirely by Portuguese. The hills are a common sanctuary for such unhappy slaves as are lucky enough to escape from their tyrannic masters, to whom, by their prodigious increase, they are now become almost a constant terror. The admiral,
near

near this place, took a Portuguese ship laden with wine, the master of which, with all the crew, except the pilot, the admiral set at liberty, giving them one of his own pinnaces, and restoring them their cloaths, together with a butt of wine. There was another Portuguese vessel at the same time in sight, which they ineffectually chased. To prevent the reader's being surprized at their attacks on the Portuguese, it is necessary to observe that Portugal was at this time a province of Spain.

As they sheered off from the island, two or three small towns in sight fired after them, either as a mark of their rejoicing at being rid of such troublesome companions, or to intimate their having been prepared to receive them.

There is an island twelve leagues to the south-west of St. Jago, called del Fogo, on the north side of which is a volcano that flames up often two or three times in an hour, diffusing a light almost as strong as that of the moon, to a very great distance; besides often throwing out pumice stones, and other calcined substances even, far into the sea; however, there must be something either tempting or advantageous in the situation, seeing it is settled by the Portuguese.

On an island two leagues farther south, than which few can be more pleasant, there grows variety of oranges, lemons, cocos, and innumerable vegetables as well useful as delightful; and the cooling streams wherewith it is watered, in their progress to the sea, improve the landscape, while they assist its verdure, and contribute to its fertility. It is called by the Portuguese, Brava; but the sea being unfathomable round it, consequently no possibility of anchoring, it is avoided by shipping, to which cause its want of inhabitants may be justly attributed; for some of the admiral's people having traversed the whole territory, met with no
sign

sign of any human creature, except a poor hermit, who nimbly avoided them ; in whose cell they scarcely found any thing besides an ill-contrived altar, on which was a crucifix and some images of rude workmanship.

Being here well stocked with water, they quitted the Cape de Verd islands, and stretched over towards the line, in their approach to which they found the weather very changeable, sometimes quite calm and often very tempestuous ; they saw plenty of dolphins, bonitos, and other fish all the way, particularly flying fish ; a species that being pursued by sharks and other fishes of prey, use their fins as wings, whereby they spring to a good height out of the water, and fall down when their moisture is exhausted, often dropping upon deck ; nor are they bad food.

February the 17th, they passed the line, and on the 5th of April, spied land, for the first time in a run of upwards of sixty days, which proved to be Brasil ; and they were no sooner in sight of the coast, than great fires were lighted up in several parts of it, which they supposed to be the usual sacrifices, made by the inhabitants to the devil, on the appearance of ships, accompanied with strange incantations and infernal ceremonies, by which they hoped to raise tempests, and destroy them ; however, they were for once disappointed.

On the 7th of April, they were parted from the Christopher, in a storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, but they came up with her on the 11th, at Cape Joy, where they stopped to take in fresh water. Here they found a small harbour, where the ships rode very safely, the force of the sea being broken by a large rock, on which were a number of seals, some of which they killed and kept for food, being very wholesome, tho' not over and above palatable. They could trace no signs of inhabitants,

inhabitants, tho' the air was mild, the soil rich, and the country pleasant, abounding with wild deer; however, some of the sailors affirmed they discovered the tracks of a human creature, but vastly beyond the common proportion.

They next steered for the river Plate, where they filled water in fifty three and fifty four fathom, but there being no safe road for the ships, they put to sea again; and on the night of the 27th, the Swan and another smaller vessel was parted from them: they, at last, found a bay that promised a good reception. The admiral, who was extremely vigilant, and never trusted any report, if possible, but his own judgment, having taken his boat to go on shore and examine the coast, was overtaken by a fog so extremely heavy, that he thought proper to return to his ship, which he had not been readily able to find, if captain Thomas, on the approach of bad weather, had not turned out with a view to seek him. However, he went on shore, some short time after, and found plenty of provision and water; the inhabitants being well made, strong, and nimble, leaping and dancing with signs of mirth and good humour; they were not averse to traffic, tho' they would take nothing out of any man's hand, but every thing must be laid for them on the ground, for their examination. The next day they were joined by the Swan; and the Marigold and Christopher, which had been out upon that errand, returned with the pleasing news of their having found a safe harbour, whither they guided the whole fleet, and the Swan was burned, by the admiral's order, as a superfluous vessel; her provisions and iron-work being first divided among the fleet.

The people inhabiting hereabouts paint their faces; they are comely, strong, and well proportioned, wearing a sort of bandage round their heads,

heads, and wrapping about their waists the skin of a beast with the hair upon it. They are not without some sort of military discipline, bearing two arrows a-piece, and a bow about an ell long. They were at first extremely shy of coming near the English; but the admiral having ordered some baubles to be tied to a staff stuck in the ground, and left for them to take at pleasure, they came soon after and removed them, leaving ostrich feathers, and some curious toys in exchange; then the admiral and some of his men approached nearer the hill on which they were drawn up, but he retreated on seeing them give some signs of fear and prepare to retire: this conduct convincing the natives that he had no ill designs against them, they at length became more familiar; in so much that two of them, attracted by the shining of the point d'Espagne wherewith it was laced, ~~they~~ came behind the admiral, and stole his hat off his head, with which they made off, and divided the spoil, one keeping the lace, and the other the hat: some of them paint all their bodies black, except their necks, which they colour white; others paint one shoulder black, and the other white, and many of them tinge their legs black, over which they paint white moons; so that they cut very motley figures, and this continual daubing so effectually closes up the pores of the body, that they become callous to cold; their food they eat raw, and gnaw it like dogs with their teeth.

To this place the admiral gave the name of Seal-Bay, from the large quantity of these creatures that frequent it, two hundred being killed in an hour; here is also a sort of bird so stupid as to wait to be knocked on the head; and many ostriches, the thigh of which bird is as large as the leg of a sizeable sheep; they cannot fly, nor yet are they easily taken, for being very nimble they

run

run fast, and sling stones behind them at their pursuers with pretty good aim, for they can grasp any thing in their talons.

They next came to anchor in a place which Magellan had named Port St. Julian, where the admiral going ashore in his boat, as usual, to survey the land, accompanied by six other people, was in some danger from the treachery of the natives, who slew his gunner, a man for whom he had a tender regard; however, he revenged it by killing the murderer with his own hand; and the following day the body was buried in the ground with great solemnity. Here they found a gibbet, on which, many years before, Magellan had executed some of his people who had conspired his death, and here justice required a sacrifice of the same sort from Drake, in the person of captain Doughty, who, notwithstanding the admiral's strict regard for him, had premeditated his death, and his evil designs being fully proved upon him, he was hanged up on the same spot: there have not been wanting some who would fain have fixed this as a stain upon Drake's memory, tho', by all certain accounts, he was used with the greatest lenity imaginable. He was buried here, and a large stone fixed at each end of the grave; on which was his name engraved in latin.

CHAP. II.

Drake falls in with the streights of Magellan: a description of the coast, and currents: he enters the South Sea, but is driven back by a storm; loses his anchor, and is parted from his vice admiral: he arrives at Mocha; the natives murder two of his men: he seizes a very rich ship at St. Fago, and rifles the town: is in want of water, and hindered from getting it at Coquimbo: he takes a large quantity of silver from a Spaniard who lay asleep on the road, and seizes some Peruvian sheep richly laden: he enters the harbour of Lima, and quits it in pursuit of the Cacafuego, comes up with and takes it; this ship immensely rich: he seizes the town of Guatulco, and takes the members of the court of justice prisoners: an earthquake: Nova Albion discovered: the inhabitants described: the country surrendered to Drake, whom the king himself crowns; Drake quits this coast, and arrives off the Ladrones.

ON the 17th of August, they left this port, and fell in with the streights of Magellan on the 20th, where they met so many shiftings, and the wind veering so very often, that it distressed them extremely; the breadth of the streights is from four leagues to one league, but never less nor more. The land on both sides extremely high covered with snow, and the sudden squalls of wind from thence put them often in danger; yet the country wears always a face of verdure, notwithstanding the continual severity of the weather, and many kinds of vegetables thrive there very well.

It had been before imagined that the current in these streights always set one way, but they now observed

observed the contrary, from the ebb and flood, the water rising five fathom all along the coast. On the 24th of August they made an island in the streights, where there were such multitudes of penguins that they killed three thousand in one day; this is a sort of bird about the bigness of a goose, which cannot fly, and is good food. There are various other islands both on the southern and eastern parts of the streights, between which the sea pours into them as at the main entrance. September the 6th, they entered the South Sea at the cape or head shore.

But the next day, they were driven out of it more than two hundred leagues in longitude, and one degree southward of the streights, by a tempest which lasted a long time; on the 15th there was an eclipse of the moon, from which they hoped a favourable change of weather to no purpose, for neither did the winds nor waves abate their fury. It was at this time they lost the *Marigold*, John Thomas commander, whom they never had the good fortune to meet again: the first land they could possibly make was an harbour to the northward of the cape of America, out of which they were driven by the continuance of the tempest, being obliged to leave their anchor behind them; and here they were divided from their vice-admiral the *Elizabeth*, who made the best of her way to England.

Having recovered the other mouth of the streights, they came to anchor among the islands in fifty seven degrees south latitude, where there was excellent water, and plenty of wholesome herbs, which were very serviceable to the sick. Having thus recruited themselves a little, and got the better of their fatigue, they stretched over to the coast of Chili, which is situated to the north-east and east; tho' in the common maps it is described

scribed otherwise, perhaps from the coast not being well known.

They cast anchor on the 29th of November, in the island of Mocha; here the admiral and ten men went on shore, where they were met by some of the natives, who gave them potatoes and two fat sheep, in return for a few trifling commodities: but they treacherously seized upon and murdered two of the men who were sent ashore the next day for water; this was occasioned by their mistaking them for Spaniards, who have behaved to them with great cruelty, which they retort with every favourable opportunity.

They now continued their course towards Chili, and an Indian who was fishing off the coast, mistaking them for Spaniards, gave them intelligence of a large ship laden for Peru, then lying at St. Jago; to which he with great readiness piloted them for a trifling reward. Her crew consisted of eight Spaniards and three negroes, who supposing them friends, invited them on board to drink with them, a summons they readily obeyed, by boarding her and clapping the crew under hatches; one of which, boldly leaping overboard, swam on shore and alarmed the inhabitants with this accident, who quickly abandoned the town. When he had secured his new prize, in which he found pure gold of Baldavia, to the value of thirty seven thousand pistoles, the admiral manning her boat and his own, went on shore and rifled the town, together with a small chapel, whence he took a silver chalice, two cruets, and the altar cloth; these he made a present of to his chaplain. Having taken on board a good quantity of Chili wine, and some very fine cedar, which he found here, he then set his prisoners on shore, and bent his course to Lima the capital of Peru.

Having

Having landed fourteen men in the haven of Coquimbo, to bring off water, of which they stood in some need, they were discovered by the town, which intrepidly sent out a body of three hundred horse and two hundred foot to attack them; before whom they retreated with the loss of only one man, whom this formidable army valiantly beheaded, when they saw him fall, and the Indians stuck his body full of arrows; however, the admiral ordered a party of men next day on shore to bury him, to whom the Spaniards in vain displayed a flag of truce, as if inviting them to a parley.

January the 22d, being in want of water, some Indians on the coast offered to pilot them to a watering-place; and tho' the quantity was so small as scarcely to be in the least serviceable to them, Drake rewarded his conductors very liberally. At a place called Terapara, whither they were led by the same occasion, they found a Spaniard lying asleep, whom they eased of eighteen bars of silver, about four thousand ducats in value, which lay on the ground by him, and this they did with such politeness, as not to disturb his repose; and a little farther on, they seized eight Peruvian sheep, each loaded with one hundred pound weight of pure silver in leathern bags, which they carried to their ships, restoring the beasts whom they had thus relieved, to the Indian and the Spaniard who conducted them. The sheep of Peru are about the size of mules; their wool is superfine, and their flesh wholesome; they are of prodigious service to the Spaniards, carrying very heavy burthens, and travelling in places where scarcely any other beasts could find a footing.

From hence they sailed to a port called Arica, where they took out three small barks, the crews of which fearing no danger were gone ashore, seventy-

with fifty seven wedges of silver, weighing near twelve hundred pounds. Not being strong enough to attack the town, they put to sea, and fell in with a small bark, in which was scarcely any thing that they wanted; so the admiral set her at liberty, it being a rule with him not to injure, when it could be of no advantage to him or his people.

February the 13th, they entered the harbour of Lima, where lay a fleet of twelve ships, with scarce any person left to guard them, the commanders and most of the crews being on shore: out of these they took some silks, linens, and a chest filled with rials of plate; then they turned out, in pursuit of the Cacafuego, a very rich ship, which they were informed had lately left that harbour, intending for Paita; which place they found, on their arrival there, she had left, and was gone for Panama: however, they fell in with another that richly atoned for their disappointment, she having on board eighty pounds weight of fine gold, besides a large golden crucifix, richly adorned with emeralds; all which they seized, together with some useful cordage, which was also a valuable acquisition.

They now continued their chase of the Cacafuego, which was descried off Cape St. Francisco, one hundred and fifty leagues from Panama, about three o'clock, by Mr. John Drake, on which account the admiral presented him with the gold chain he himself usually wore about his neck, being the reward he had promised to him who should first discover her.

About six o'clock they came up with, and boarded her, after having in three shots brought her mizen-mast by the board. Her cargo, they found not less valuable than it had been represented; it consisted of thirteen chests filled with rials of plate, eighty pounds weight of gold, twenty six

tons of silver bars, and a large quantity of jewels, besides many other rich commodities.

Among many pieces of plate, were two prodigious large silver bowls gilt, belonging to the pilot; one of which the admiral, in a joking manner, told him he hoped he would allow him to keep, by way of remembrance, which the poor pilot could not but comply with; and that he might appear to do it with a good grace, he presented the other to the admiral's steward.

When they had thus lightened this vessel, they dismissed her, to pursue her course to Panama, having first supplied the captain and his crew with linen and other necessaries. A little while after this exploit, continuing their course still westward, they came up with another ship laden with linen-cloth, silks, and superfine China vases, out of which they took what pleased them best, together with a falcon made of massy gold, in whose breast was set a very valuable emerald; and keeping the pilot to assist them, set her and her people at liberty.

This pilot brought them into the haven of Guatulco, and in the town, he told them, were but seventeen Spaniards: here the admiral and some of his people went ashore, and marched directly to the court of judicature, in which was the judge ready to pronounce sentence on some negroes, who were accused of having conspired to burn the town; however, without manifesting any reverence to the authority of the court, he caused both prisoners, judges, and auditors to be seized, and carried on board his own ship; from whence he compelled the judge to write a letter to the townsmen, ordering them to keep aloof and permit the English to water in quiet; which was done accordingly, and then the town searched for plunder, but none found, except one bushel of rials; Thomas Moon, one of the admiral's men, took from
a Spaniard

a Spaniard, whom he stopped flying to the woods, a gold chain and some valuable jewels, by way of ransom.

After this they put on shore their Spanish prisoners and a Portuguese pilot, whom they had brought from the Cape de Verd islands, and then set sail for Canno; where they anchored on the 16th of March, in a fresh water river, and felt the shock of an earthquake, that then happened there, tho' they were above a mile distant from shore. While they lay here, they had plenty of water, wood, and fish; and with some other things particularly useful, they supplied themselves out of a ship which was bound to the Philippine islands, and had, not suspecting an enemy, put in here for refreshment.

Now the admiral, justly imagining he had sufficiently revenged upon the Spaniards, the wrongs his country had sustained from them, as well as his own private injuries, began to ponder on the best way of going home, wisely infering that it would be dangerous to return by the streights, as it was a place very convenient for them to await his coming with more force than he could be able to resist, having but one ship left, and that, tho' very rich, not over strong; the consequence of this deliberation was, his determining to go round to the Moluccas, and follow the Portuguese course, passing by the Cape of Good Hope.

With this view, being at present becalmed, he stood more to the northward, in hope of a good wind; and from April the 16th to June the 3d, made but six hundred leagues: here he experienced excessive cold weather, and anchored in a bay, in forty three degrees north latitude, where the cold wind, which blew with some violence, did not permit him to stay long; so that he was obliged to stand out to sea till the 17th, when he

arrived at a good bay, which he entered with a favourable gale.

This land, partly out of honour to his native country, and partly on account of its white cliffs, which are seen at a good distance at sea, the admiral called Nova Albion; and even at this time, tho' in the height of summer, it was found very cold: this country has been since known by the name of California, and is now subject to Spain.

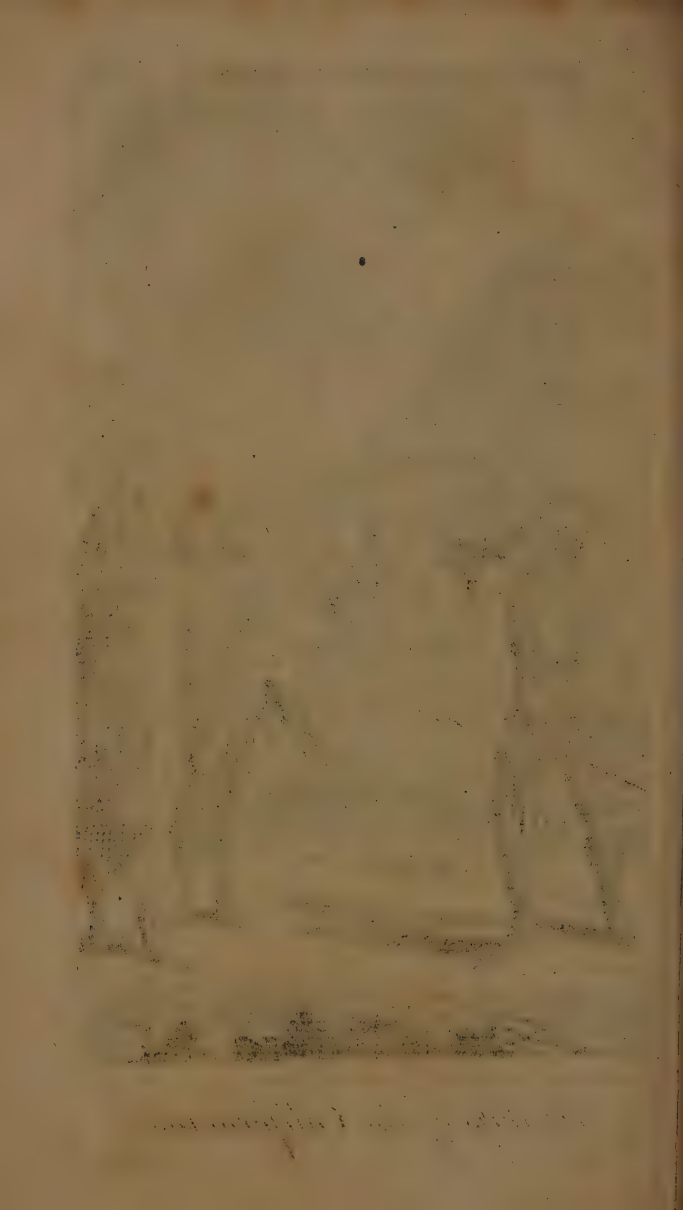
The houses of the inhabitants, who were extremely pleased with the admiral's affable and liberal behaviour, were built near the water side, and well fenced from the severity of the weather; their fire is generally made in the very middle of the house, round which the people lie upon rushes, with nothing else between them and the ground. About the waists of the women is fastened a covering of bull-rushes manufactured something like hemp, and they have commonly a deer skin flung over their shoulders; but the men are quite naked.

They sent the admiral a present of some feathers and net-work cauls, which he received very politely, and in return gave them some toys, which he imagined might be pleasing to them; after which intercourse, a larger body of them waited on him with another present, consisting of several curious feathers and some bags of tobacco.

Then one of them having, from the top of a little hill, at the bottom of which the admiral had pitched some tents, made a long harangue, which seemed addressed to him, he descended, accompanied by a very numerous assembly, the members of which, having first laid down their arms, paid obedience to the admiral, while the women remained above; and by several strange ceremonies, in which they were engaged, such as tearing their hair, and howling like furies, it was inferred, as was indeed the case, that they were at sacrifice.



Habits of the Californians.



In the mean time the admiral ordered divine service to be celebrated, with the decency and solemnity of which these people seemed not only surprized but affected.

In some few days after, two persons, in the character of ambassadors, waited on the admiral, one of whom made a speech for near half an hour together; from whence it was understood that the king himself intended to pay him a visit, provided his majesty might, by some particular sign, be assured of a peaceful welcome. Which request being readily granted, their king soon after made his appearance with a large train, which supported a rude yet respectable dignity, the common people shouting round him all the way.

The king, who was a well made man, of a noble aspect and majestic deportment, was preceded by a person of comely appearance, bearing a sceptre, to which were appended two crowns, made of net-work, curiously wrought with feathers, and three chains of a bony substance, which are marks of honour, whereby some few people of merit are, in this country, distinguished; he was surrounded by a guard of tall well-looking men, adorned with rabbit skins, of which they have here great plenty. Then followed the common people, in a promiscuous crowd, some with their faces painted black, some white, and various other colours, every one, nay even the children, bearing something by way of present.

The admiral drew up all his men in military order, to receive them, and stood within the fences of his tent, at some distance from which this procession halted, and observed a profound silence; then the scepter-bearer having made a speech of about half an hour's length, struck up a dance, and at the same time began a sort of song, in both which he was followed by king, lords, and

commons ; after which gesticulation, the king himself made several speeches to the admiral, who now perceiving that they harboured no evil intentions, allowed them to enter within the bulwarks which he had cast up to protect him from treachery.

It was at this interview that the king of this country surrendered to Drake his dominions, with the unanimous consent of his people, putting his own crown upon his head, and investing him with other ensigns of royalty ; all which Drake received, hoping this surrender might one day turn out to the glory of his sovereign and the honour of Old England.

The respect with which these people treated the admiral's men was very surprizing ; for they even offered them sacrifices, especially to the youngest among them ; nor was it without difficulty they were stopped in their profanation, and in some measure taught there was an Omnipotent, to whom alone these honours were due.

The admiral and some of his people penetrated a small way up the country, which they found well stocked with large deer, and such rabbits as I have before spoken of, whose skins serve for cloaths, and their flesh is excellent food ; they are not larger than a Barbary rabbit, their feet like a mole's, their tail like a rat's, and they have a bag on one side of their jaw, in which they preserve such provision as they can't immediately devour, till a time of necessity.

The Spaniards had never been upon this shore, nor had they made any discoveries to the southward of it ; and before our admiral left it, he erected a pillar with a plate thereto affixed, whereupon was engraven the queen's name and arms, together with the date of the year and day, in which the admiral, whose name was also inscribed, had arrived there ; and the free gift the king had made

made of his crown and territories to the use of the sovereign of England.

Having stocked his ship with provision sufficient to subsist him a reasonable time, the admiral left this place on the 23d of July, the people lamenting extremely his departure, and making fires on the highest hills, as was supposed, by way of sacrifice, till the ship was out of sight.

Finding the cold increase, the wind grow more boisterous from the northward, and the sun going still farther off, and despairing of finding a passage thro' the northern seas, Drake stretched over for the Molucca islands; and on the 13th of October came up with the Ladrones, whence several canoes came off, bringing cocoes, fruits, fish, and other sorts of provision to sell; the people seemed at first inclined to deal very fairly, but when they became a little acquainted with the sailors they stole every thing they could lay their hands on, nor was it possible to make them part with any thing they once laid hold of; and on their repeating this usage, the English refused to deal with them, hindering them from coming on board their ship; at which repulse they were so enraged, that they flung stones at the ship, which she returned with one gun, that intimidated them sufficiently, for they leaped into the water for shelter and skulked under their canoes till she was gone to some distance from them, when nimbly recovering their vessels, they hastened to the shore, not without looking often behind them.

These people pare the lower parts of their ears round, and stretch them with weights considerably upon their cheeks; their teeth are as black as jet, and they all carry a certain herb and powder about them, which they are continually chewing, and this contributes to preserve them of that colour: one would imagine they designed their nails for de-

fenfive weapons, letting them grow at least an inch long over their fingers.

Their canoes are generally made of one large piece of timber, artfully hollowed, and well smoothed, their prows and sterns curiously set, and ornamented with white shells, having a large piece of timber on each side with a great cane fastened to it, to hinder their being overfet.

About the end of October the admiral passed feveral islands, some of which appeared to be very populous, fuch as Tagulada, Zeilon, &c. in the first of which is good cinnamon, and the inhabitants of most of them are friends to the Portuguese.

CH A P. V.

Drake invited on shore by the king of Ternate, who visits him on shipboard; they entertain each other very magnificently: he receives a visit from a Chinese traveller: an island enlightened by glow-worms: land crabs described: his ship in danger of being lost: he comes to anchor in the island of Baratene: the character and ingenuity of the inhabitants: he is well received by the five kings of Java: the great unanimity of the people of that island: a curious way to boil rice, and to cure the venereal disease: he doubles the Cape of Good Hope: takes in water at Sierra Leona, and arrives at Plymouth.

ON the 24th of November they found themselves off the Moluccas, and were prevented from going to Tydore, as they had first intended, by a viceroy from Ternate, who boldly came on board to tell them the king of that island would freely and cordially traffic with and befriend them, provided they went not to Tydore, a place, which

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on account of the Portuguese who inhabited it, he bitterly hated, and could not possibly think of dealing with any body that was concerned with them. This intimation induced the admiral to alter his first resolution, and determining to stay at Ternate, he sent a velvet cloak by way of present to the king, with assurances that his intentions were entirely peaceable; his design being only to procure provisions and some other necessaries in exchange for merchandize.

In answer to this message, the king replied he should have whatever he stood in need of; and presented him by a special messenger with his own signet, and a solemn assurance that he was not only ready to serve him in every thing, but also to submit his crown and kingdom to his command, and that of his sovereign, signifying, at the same time, that he himself intended to pay him a visit on ship-board.

As a prelude to this visit, appeared four large canoes with eighty rowers on each side, placed in handsome well-contrived galleries, within side of whom were a rank of seemingly well disciplined soldiers; and within these, a row of servants all in white, who attended upon some of the most dignified persons of the court, dressed in white lawn or callicoe, with whom the body of each vessel was filled. A canopy of thin perfumed mats covered each canoe from end to end, contrived to protect it from the heat of the sun, each man taking place under it according to his rank. These canoes were well supplied with ammunition and warlike stores; the soldiers being armed with all sorts of weapons, both offensive and defensive.

They rowed by the admiral in great order, each doing him reverence in its turn, and then acquainting him, that they were sent by the king to conduct him into a safer road.

Soon after this parade, the king himself, a tall well-built man, made his appearance, attended by six personages stricken in years, of aspect grave and reserved: the admiral made him several handsome presents; he was infinitely delighted with the ship's band of music, and at his departure he seemed greatly satisfied with the English manners, promising to return again the day following, and in the mean time to send in such provisions as they might stand in need of: in this last particular he kept his promise, for that very night they received a considerable quantity of hens, cloves, rice, liquid sugar, plantains, and sago which melts in the mouth like sugar, but tastes like a sour curd; tho' made up in cakes, it may be preserved for eight or ten years.

Next morning, the king sent his brother on board, to desire the admiral would dispense with his visit that day, and come on shore himself, the messenger being by way of hostage to remain behind: but this invitation the admiral declined, sending however some of his retinue along with the king's brother, and detaining the friendly viceroy as a pledge of their return.

They were received on shore by another of the king's brothers, and many of the chief nobility, who conducted them with great solemnity to court, where they found above a thousand persons assembled to receive them; sixty of whom were the king's council, and made a very respectable appearance: there were also four Turkish envoys, clothed in scarlet, whose business here was to settle terms of commerce between the courts of Constantinople and Ternate.

It was not long before the king made his entry, with a loose robe of gold tissue hanging over his shoulders, golden rings fastened by way of ornament up and down in his hair, a chain of the same metal about his neck, and some valuable jewels on

on his fingers. His legs were bare, and his shoes made of the best Cordova leather; he was guarded by twelve men with lances, the points inverted; and over him was borne a canopy, very richly embroidered with gold: on the right-hand of the chair in which he seated himself, stood a page, who with a fan fixed on a staff three feet long, and finely adorned with sapphires, allayed the heat arising from the throng of the people, and the fervour of the sun.

He received the admiral's envoys very respectfully; and, having heard their message, replied very graciously; then sent one of his council to conduct them back to the ship.

The king of Ternate is a very powerful monarch, having seventy islands, great and small in his jurisdiction; his religion, as well as that of his subjects, is Mahometanism.

The admiral, while he staid here, was visited by a gentleman well attended, and clothed after the European fashion: he was of the blood-royal of China; but banished on suspicion of some crimes against the state, for a certain term of years; during which time he intended to travel, hoping, by that means, to draw some advantage from his misfortunes. He appeared to be a man of sound sense, had a strong judgment, a good memory, and, by knowing how properly to digest the various things which he had seen, proved an entertaining companion. He was infinitely pleased with the admiral's behaviour to him, and endeavoured to induce him to touch at China, but in vain; for, having compassed that which first led him to undertake this voyage, all his thoughts were now bent on home.

Having settled all affairs at Ternate, the admiral set sail from thence on the 9th of November; and, on the 14th of the same month, came to anchor in a little island to the southward of Cele-

bes: this place they chose, because it was not only convenient, but uninhabited; here they set up forges for their iron work, in which they were obliged to burn charcoal, all their sea-coal having been consumed. This island is overgrown with trees not unlike our broom; among which, in the night, there was such plenty of glow-worms, that every twig looked as if it were studded with stars: here they also found very large bats, of a short but exceedingly swift flight; and land-crabs, of so extraordinary a size, that one of them might easily satisfy the appetite of four hungry men: they are good food, and excellent restoratives, and they burrow in the ground like rabbits.

This place afforded every thing they could wish, except water, which they were forced to bring from an island a little more to the southward: after a stay of twenty six days, they turned out with an indifferent wind; and, being entangled among several islands, they found it hard to recover the mouth of the Celebes: and here they were obliged, by the wind chopping about, to change from a westerly to a southerly course, which had like to have proved fatal to them; for, on the 9th of January they ran upon a rock, where they stuck fast for sixteen hours; when having lightened the vessel of eight pieces of ordnance, three tons of cloves, and some provision, they were happily brought off by the gale shifting in their favour.

On the 8th of February, after having thus severely suffered by the winds and shoals, they came to anchor in the island of Baratene, where they found provisions of all sorts in great plenty; excellent spices, with lemons, oranges, cocoes, plantains, sago, and a fruit about the size of a bayberry, which boiled, becomes soft and agreeable. This island produces also sulphur, copper, silver, and

and gold, which the natives are very expert at fashioning in several different ways.

They are far from being a disagreeable people, and their humanity, benevolence, and integrity render them perfectly amiable; they are courteous to strangers, and trade with a punctuality and honesty that ought to put the tutored Christian to the blush. The men cover only their heads and privities, and that with linen, which is therefore a good commodity here: the women have a garment reaching from the waist to the foot, and load their arms with eight or ten bracelets at a time, made of bone, brass, or horn; weighing perhaps two ounces a-piece. Hence they came, on the 9th of March, in sight of Java Major, where they were honourably and affably entertained by the five kings that govern it, four of whom came at once on ship-board, and often two or three at a time; they are generous, unsuspecting, and communicative, freely offering to accommodate a stranger with a female bed-fellow, living very merrily and sociably amongst themselves, and seemingly strangers to intestine jars or dissensions.

They are armed with swords, targets, daggers, &c. which they temper very skilfully, and are fond of coloured cloaths, such as green, red, &c. They wear a roll or turban round the head, almost in the Turkish manner, and a stripe of coloured silk round the waist, which trails on the ground. They put their rice into a perforated earthen vessel, of a conic form, open at the large end, and this is fixed in another vessel full of water, which is set over the fire; and but little water being able to penetrate thro' the holes, the rice swells to a firm consistency, of which they make several pleasant dishes, mixing it with butter, oil, spices, sugar, or whatever else is most agreeable to their palate.

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The venereal disease is very prevalent here, which they cure by exposing the body for some hours in the scorching heat of the sun, whereby the pores are opened, and the noxious particles discharged by a natural perspiration.

All the kings of this island live in perfect unanimity: the admiral's behaviour seemed to give them vast pleasure; they expressed great rapture at hearing his music play, and supplied him with plenty of whatever provisions he wanted; for these in return he gave them some rich silks, on which they set an inestimable value.

Having cleared the hull of their ship from the barnacle-shells which she had gathered in her long voyage, and new payed her bottom, they set sail, March the 26th, for the Cape of Good Hope, which they doubled on the 18th of June, so near that they might easily have made the land; and in this part of their voyage, the few obstructions which they met with easily convinced them that the Portuguese had grossly misrepresented the passage, and the horror which they described attending it.

On the 22d of July they arrived at Sierra Leona, where they staid two days to water; and were exceedingly refreshed with the lemons, and oysters that grow upon trees, on which they feed and multiply.

August the 26th they were off the Canaries, which they passed, being sufficiently stocked with necessaries, and continued their voyage to Plymouth, where they arrived safely on Monday September 26th, 1580, but on Sunday, by their own account, having lost one day in their reckoning, and been out two years, ten months, and a few days.

CHAP. IV.

Some remarks on Drake's voyage round the world: queen Elizabeth dines on board his ship, and knights him: a chair made out of its ruins: sir Francis Drake sent with twenty-five ships against the Spaniards; plunders Vigo; makes an attempt on the isle of Ferro; plunders St. Jago, and burns the country in return for the murder of Mr. Hawkins, &c. steers to the West-Indies; loses many men by sickness: he refreshes his crew at St. Christophers, and proceeds to Dominica, which is ransomed, after being taken by storm: he surprises Carthagena, burns several Spanish settlements; and having touched at Virginia, arrives safely at Portsmouth, very richly laden. His defeat of the Spanish Armada; in which he makes use of fire-ships. A slight review of his expedition to Portugal. Sir Francis Drake's last voyage to the West-Indies; makes a descent at Rio de la Hacha, and burns Nombre de Dios: a fruitless expedition against Panama. Sir Francis dies, and is buried in the sea: a sketch of his character, and a description of his person.

NEVER was private subject more applauded or respected for his achievements, than Drake for this voyage; and if discoveries that tend to the improvement of commerce are of advantage to, and require the thanks of a trading nation, no man deserved a general elogium better than he, who gave England the glory of having produced a person that first sailed round the world, whose valour made the English feared, while his humanity made them beloved; and his magnificence caused them to be revered and admired in every region with which he had any communication. His discovery and taking possession of the land which he called New Albion, was an action of the greatest conse-

consequence to the British nation; since it is in such a situation, that the Spaniards, according to their own principles, can never dispute the legality of our right to it, if it were to be contested with them.

April 4th, 1581, the queen was magnificently entertained by sir Francis Drake, on board his ship at Deptford, at which time she honoured him with the dignity of knighthood; and it was remarkable, that tho' above two hundred people fell into the Thames that day, by the giving way of a bridge of planks, laid from the shore to the ship for her majesty to pass over, not one of them was either hurt or drowned. This ship was preserved as a very great curiosity at Deptford many years; but when quite decayed, there was a chair made from it, and sent as a present to Oxford, where it is held in great esteem.

Anno 1585, an expedition was set on foot by the crown against the Spanish West-Indies, of which sir Francis Drake was made admiral, and commander in chief both by sea and land, having with him twenty-five ships. They left Plymouth September 12th: and having plundered Vigo, particularly the cathedral church, whence they took a prodigious large silver cross, embossed and gilt, they continued their course to the island of Palma, where they intended to refresh themselves; but the entrance being dangerous, and some ordnance conveniently placed to hurt their boats and pinnaces, they gave over this attempt; and hoped to have had better success in the island of Ferro, where, under covert of a hill, they landed a thousand men; but these were commanded the ensuing day to reembark, on their meeting an English sailor, who had been by some chance abandoned in this place, from whom they learned, that it was so very barren, that even the inhabitants were half-starved.

From thence they proceeded to St. Jago; and
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on the 16th came to anchor off the town, which they found entirely forsaken, and nothing left of any value, except wine, olives, and some provisions, which the inhabitants had not time to carry off: here he quartered his land-army for some days, and on the 24th marched to St. Domingo, an inland town of great note, whence the governor, bishop, and indeed all the inhabitants had fled to the mountains: here they found but little plunder. On the 26th the admiral reembarked his forces, having first burnt the town of St. Jago, and ravaged and destroyed the country round about, for the cruelty of the people to Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth, and his men, whom they had treacherously murdered five years before, after having entered into a treaty with them; as also, in return for their barbarity to a boy belonging to the fleet, who having strayed by chance from his comrades, fell into the hands of the Spaniards; and they plucked out his heart, having first beheaded him, then tore him limb from limb, and scattered the pieces as prey to the less wild inhabitants of the desert and the air.

They now pursued their course to the West-Indies, and in the way lost a great number of their men by a calenture which had crept in among them. In eighteen days they reached the island of Dominica, where they stocked themselves with water, cassave bread, and some tobacco, for which, in return, they gave the natives glass-toys, and coloured beads, a payment to them very sufficient. These people are of a treacherous disposition, and hate the Spaniards.

Their Christmas they spent at St. Christophers, then uninhabited, where they cleansed the ship, and refreshed their sick; then steered their course for another St. Domingo, a rich city in Hispaniola, and one of the most considerable places on the coast:
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within nine or ten miles of it they landed a body of men that took it by storm, the Spaniards at last ransoming it for twenty-five thousand ducats, having let it lie in possession of the English above a month.

Quitting St. Domingo, they set sail for Carthage, an excellent well fortified harbour on the continent, which they took after a stout resistance, and released for an hundred and ten thousand ducats. They designed to have gone to Nombre de Dios, and thence over land to Panama; but the sickness increasing among them, rendered that great undertaking impracticable, and they were necessitated to return home; in their way demolishing fort St. John, and burning two Spanish towns called St. Augustine and St. Helena, on the coast of Florida; after which adventures they touched at Virginia, and took on board an English colony, which had been sent thither the year before by sir Walter Raleigh, under the command of Mr. Lane; and these are said to be the first persons who introduced in England the use of tobacco, an article that has added considerably to the revenue of the crown. They arrived at Portsmouth the 28th of July, 1586, having been out something more than ten months; the owners are said to have cleared forty thousand pounds by this voyage, and the meanest man in the fleet to have had six pounds prize-money; besides which, they got more than two hundred pieces of brass cannon, and forty made of iron. They lost by sickness and accidents eight captains, four lieutenants, eight gentlemen, and in all about seven hundred and fifty men.

Altho' no more is required of us, nor indeed in our plan of this work have we promised more than such voyages as were made by the most remarkable adventurers; yet we should think it an affront to the curiosity of an intelligent reader, as well as a
piece

piece of injustice to his memory, who, had he lived in the days of Rome, had been raised to the rank of a demi-god, not to give some account of his defeating the Spanish Armada, fitted out for no less a purpose than the total destruction of the English nation.

In 1587, admiral Drake sailed to Cadiz, which he entered on the 19th of April before sun-rise; and took, before night, thirty eight sail of ships that lay there, and had been assisting to bring provisions and necessaries for the Armada, twenty of them were Dutch, and among them were some of considerable burthen, most of which he burnt and destroyed. Thence he steered to the river of Lisbon, where he did a good deal of damage also; and, in his return, seized a very rich prize called the St. Philip, which is said to be the first Caracca ship brought into England. And this stroke contributed not a little to abate the courage of the Spaniards, notwithstanding the incredible force they had on foot.

The year following, the queen appointed him vice-admiral of the fleet destined to oppose the Spanish Armada, which was commanded by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, said to consist of some hundreds of vessels, and to stand the king of Spain in thirty two thousand ducats per day.

Never did Drake shew more skill or more courage than in this engagement; in the very beginning of which he took two of the largest ships in the Spanish fleet, one of them being the vice-admiral, and the other commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, a Spanish nobleman, who made a gallant resistance; and when he surrendered, declared, it was to the fortune of Drake he submitted, whose courage and generosity not his most inveterate foes could deny; and that he and his crew were resolved to have fallen sword in hand, had they not been

been opposed by him, whose enterprizes Mars and Neptune seemed to conspire in promoting. The plunder of this single ship was very great, she having on board fifty-five thousand golden ducats; and the vice-admiral repaid the Spaniard's politeness with giving him the use of his own table and cabin, wherein he was treated with the greatest respect and magnificence.

To give an exact detail of the particulars of this sea-fight, would encroach on our design, and engross too much of our attention; let it suffice then, that we remark that this prodigious armament was entirely destroyed, the commander of it, who with difficulty escaped, was disgraced and banished from Madrid; upwards of fourscore ships were either taken, sunk, or burnt; numbers of them irreparably damaged; and thirteen thousand soldiers, among whom scarce a noble house in Spain but reckoned a brother, a son, or a kinsman, were cut off.

On the other hand, the English lost but one small vessel, and not many more than an hundred men; in this battle the admiral advised the use of fire-ships, which proved of signal service; but I cannot take upon me to affirm he was the original inventor of them, as some people have strenuously maintained.

We shall pass over, as foreign to our purpose, sir Francis's expedition to Portugal, in conjunction with sir John Norris, for setting the crown of that kingdom on Dón Antonio's head; an attempt, the success of which was but indifferent, owing rather to his colleague than himself; and hasten to his last voyage, which was in 1595, when being joined in commission with sir John Hawkins, he set sail from Plymouth, August 28th, having about two thousand five hundred men in his fleet, which consisted of six of the queen's ships, and twenty other vessels; but this expedition was in some measure retarded at first,
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by the perverseness of sir John Hawkins, who died off St. John de Porto Rico, on the 12th of November; and the same day, sir Nicholas Clifford, with several other gentlemen, were wounded as they sat at supper with sir Francis, whose stool was shot from under him by the enemy's firing from the fort; notwithstanding which they burnt five large Spanish ships lying in the harbour, one of them being four thousand tons; and on the 15th, the bodies of sir John Hawkins and sir Nicholas Clifford, who died of the wounds he received on the 12th, were buried in the sea, with the usual ceremonies.

They left Porto Rico on the 16th, and on the 2d of December made a descent on Rio de la Hacha, a town on the continent, which they found entirely deserted; however, the Spaniards offered twenty-four thousand ducats, in pearls, as a ransom for it; but not keeping their words, rating their pearl at an immoderate price, and thus plainly manifesting they only wanted to trifle away time, the admiral ordered the town to be set on fire; which was accordingly done; and they burnt several other towns along the coast, particularly Nombre de Dios, bringing off a good deal of pearl and other valuable treasure. On the 29th, sir Thomas Baskervill, a lieutenant-general, was dispatched with seven hundred and fifty men to Panama, over land, a march in which they suffered extremely, from the inconveniency of the road, the ambuscades of the Spaniards in the woods, whence several of the men were killed, and the failure of necessaries, a pair of shoes selling for thirty shillings, and a small biscuit for ten shillings; at length they came to a narrow pass, so strongly fortified and so well defended, that they were forced to retreat; having suffered severely in their progress, which had sufficiently paid them, could they have pursued it to Panama.

January the 5th, they departed from this place for the island of Escudo, where they tarried to the 23d, when having taken in their store of fresh water, and recruited their sick, they stood out for Portobello, of which they came in sight on the 28th, on which day sir Francis Drake died of a flux, aged fifty-five years, to the inexpressible sorrow not only of the fleet, but of every body who knew him; and with him expired the very soul of this expedition: having no children himself, he left his fortune by will to a son of his brother Thomas Drake.

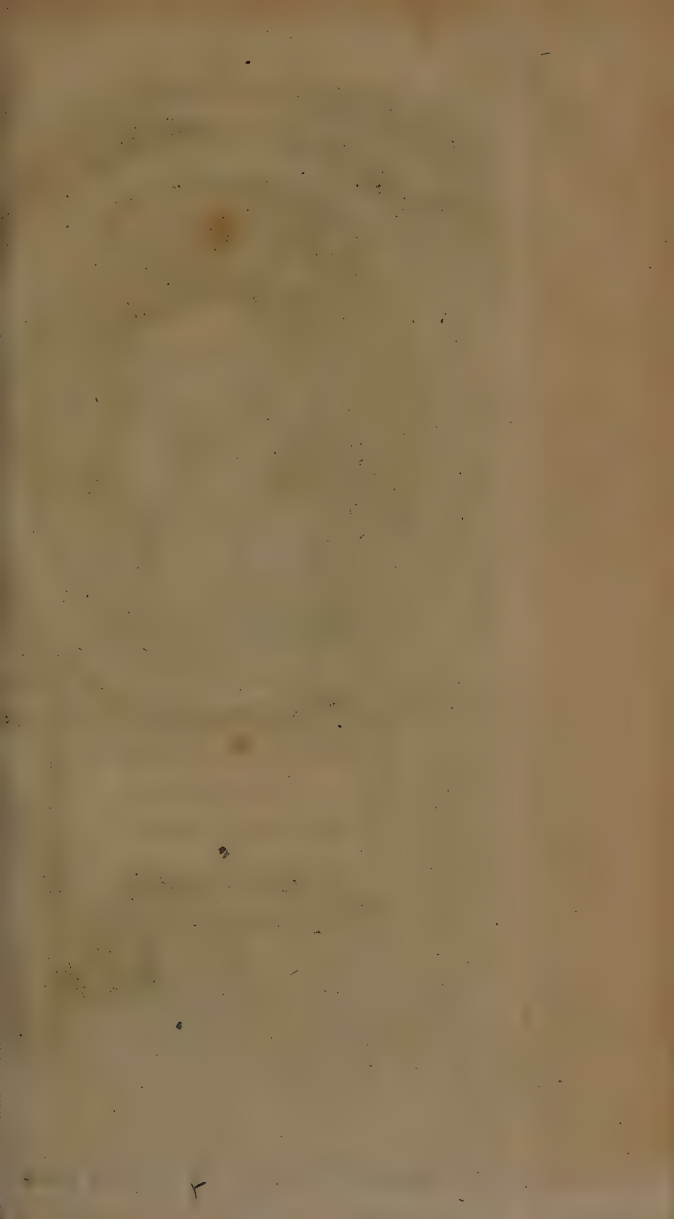
His body was put into a leaden coffin, and lowered into the water with all naval honours, under a general discharge of the whole fleet's cannon, while the trumpets kept time with the most melancholy notes. The command of the fleet, on his decease, devolved upon sir Thomas Baskerville, who immediately gave orders for sailing homewards. In his passage he fell in with a Spanish fleet of twenty sail, whom he engaged for three hours with little or no advantage on either side, and arrived at Plymouth in April, 1586.

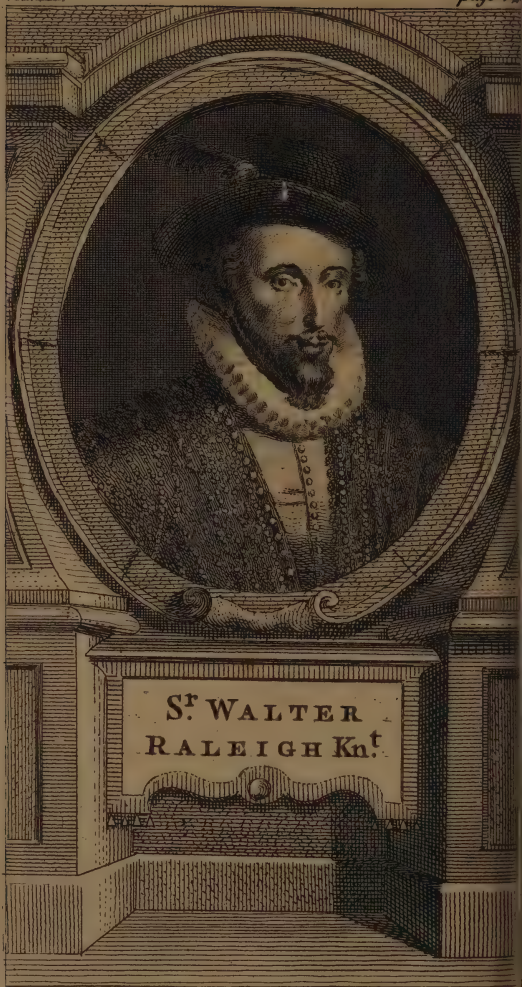
Few men had more address than sir Francis Drake, who was an honour to the British name; he was naturally eloquent, clear in his expression, and graceful in his delivery: his knowledge in every science requisite to the marine, even in surgery, was extensive; he was feared and respected by his enemies, whom he always treated with tenderness and humanity; beloved and caressed by his owners, to whom he behaved with justice and integrity; and honoured and esteemed by his sovereign, whom he served with courage and fidelity. He was resolute and active; patient in hearing advice; judicious in accepting it; easy of access; fond of the soldiery; liberal of promises; unshaken in his friendship; and irreconcilable in enmity; but open to the grossest

adulation. In a word, he was a man who never let private views get the better of his public spirit; and as in life he was generally beloved, in death he was universally regreted.

He was low in stature, but well made; his hair light brown; his complexion florid; his eyes brisk and large, and his countenance open and engaging, promising from appearance a much longer life: and it is certain, that the disappointments he met with in this last voyage, which he imagined in some measure stained his glory, sat heavy on his swelling heart, and contributed to shorten his days.

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S^r WALTER
RALEIGH Kn^t

The LIFE and Various VOYAGES
of Sir WALTER RALEIGH, and of
several ADVENTURERS under his
Direction.

CHAP. I.

Sir Walter's birth and character : engages in an expedition for making new discoveries in the West-Indies : Virginia first discovered : some account of the people : sir Richard Greenville deputed to make a settlement there ; but the people of it are assailed by the Indians, and brought off by sir Francis Drake.

THIS brave adventurer, as much admired for his abilities, as lamented for his misfortunes, was born anno 1552, at Budley in Devonshire, a village near the sea ; he was the second son which John Raleigh of Fardel Esq; had by his third wife ; and was for some time a commoner of Oriel college Oxford, whence he went to serve in the Huguenot army, under the great Coligny, against the French king : in which expedition he acquired very great reputation, both for prudence and valour. We afterwards find him engaged as a volunteer against the Spaniards in Flanders, along with the prince of Orange ; and in the year 1580 he bore a captain's commission in the service of the crown against the rebels in Ireland ; and he was one of the judges who presided at the condemnation of sir James Desmond, whose quarters were hung over the gates of the city of Cork.

In 1581 he was joined in commission with sir William Morgan and captain Piers, as one of the governors of Munster; a little before which time, the earl of Ormond, Mr. Walter Raleigh, and two other gentlemen in the army of the loyalists, challenged any four of the Irish rebels to single combat; but their invitation was not accepted.

When the troubles in Ireland were a little abated, by the reduction of the earl of Desmond, and the submission of David lord Barry of Barry court, he quitted his command in that kingdom, and returned to England, where a piece of gallantry first recommended him to the notice of queen Elizabeth; for, meeting her by chance in a place that was not very clean, he spread his plush cloke on the ground for her to pass over: nor did her majesty forget his politeness. In answer to his having written with his diamond ring, on a pane of glass at court this line,

“ Fain would I climb; yet fear I to fall.”

She is said to have placed underneath it,

“ If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.”

Raleigh was a man formed to thrive in the climate of a court, being handsome and well proportioned, of an agreeable aspect and winning address; he was master of a ready wit and strong judgment; elegant in discourse, and forcible in his argument, which he manifested in a dispute between him and lord Grey, who had been deputy of Ireland, before the privy-council; in which he acquitted himself so well, that he was ever after highly esteemed at court. It was no despair of rising at land that turned his view to try his fortune by sea, but the natural impulse of his inquisitive mind,

mind, which was encouraged by the accounts he had read of the successes of the Spanish adventurers in America; whence he very justly inferred, many rich tracts of land remained still unknown, which might prove of considerable advantage to whoever should discover them.

In the year 1583, he sailed from Plymouth on board a ship of two hundred tons, which he had built himself, with three other vessels intended for Newfoundland, under command of sir Humphrey Gilbert, to whom he was nearly related; but parted from them, and returned in a very few days to port, on account of an infectious disorder that assailed his crew.

In the beginning of the year 1584, upon proper representations to the privy-council, of the probability there was of discovering new lands in America, hitherto unknown, which might prove of equal service to the crown, as Peru and Mexico were to Spain; the queen granted, by her letters patent, bearing date the same year, to Walter Raleigh esq; and his heirs, "A right to discover and possess all such countries and lands as were not yet under subjection to any Christian prince, or inhabited by Christian people, with a reserve to the crown of one fifth of all the gold and silver ore which should be found in any of the said countries."

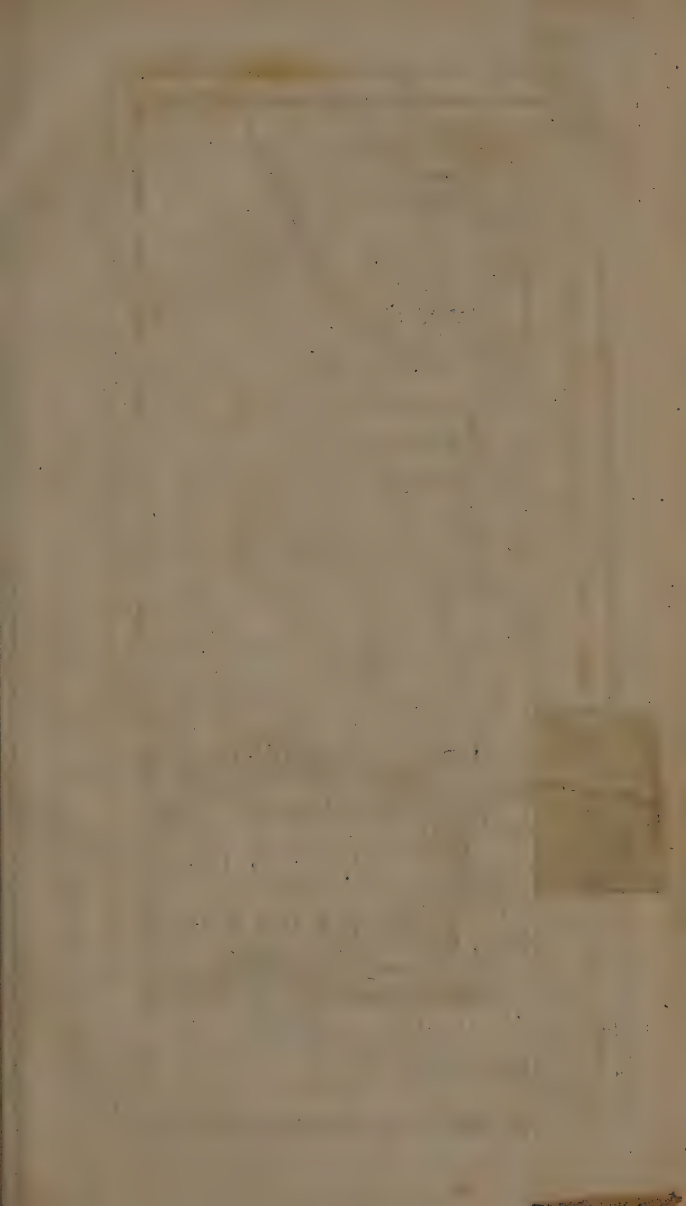
In consequence of this grant, two barks, one commanded by Philip Amidas, the other by Arthur Barlow, were fitted out on a West-Indian expedition. They left England on the 27th of April; June the 10th they fell in with the American islands; and on the 4th of July descried, as they thought, the continent: about two days before which, they found the air most delightfully scented. On the 14th of the same month they anchored in a pleasant river, having sailed upwards of forty miles

along the coast; and here landing, they took possession of the place in the queen's name, for the use of the proprietors: however, this proved to be an island called Wokoken, only twenty miles long, and six miles broad; the soil was very good, producing delicious grapes, plenty of cedars, pines, cypress and mastic, and well stocked with fowls of all sorts; also deer, hares, rabbits, &c.

On the third day, one of the natives approached them in a canoe, who seemed not at all shy of them, but was easily induced to come on board, where they gave him some cloaths, and entertained him with meat and wine: he seemed very much pleased with this usage; and going away in his boat, loaded it with fish, wherewith he returned in about half an hour, dividing his cargo into two parts, and giving one to each ship.

The natives from the continent, after this occurrence, came frequently down to traffic with them, exchanging skins, coral, and pearl for some tin-vessels, and toys of scarcely any value. They were one day visited by the king's brother, attended by a train of upwards of forty men, to whom they made several presents; but he prized nothing that he saw so much as a pewter dish, which he hung round his neck, to serve him as a shield against his enemy's arrows: in exchange for it he gave twenty deer-skins.

He came to see them several times after, and brought his wife with him; she appeared to be a very modest woman, and was not ugly; she wore a mantle of deer-skin lined with fur, and an apron of the same nature: she had a band of white coral on her forehead, and from her ears hung long bracelets of pearls, some of them as large as pease: she afterwards entertained the ship's company very well on shore.





A copper-plate affixed to the forehead seemed to be a mark of eminent distinction amongst them; all the prince's attendants being ornamented with such a badge: and it was observed, that none else durst traffic, or examine any goods who were without it, till the prince had taken what he liked, after which every man was at liberty to do as he thought proper.

They were very fond of defensive weapons, and would have given any money for knives, hatchets, and axes, &c. with which it was thought most advisable not to furnish them: and one of the sailors refused a large box of pearls offered for a sword.

The name of this country was Wingandacoa; the king was called Wingina; and his place of residence was reckoned six days journey upon the continent: however, they made no discoveries beyond the coast, but returned to England in September, very well satisfied with what they had seen, and brought two of the natives with him to learn English.

Their character of the place was so very pleasing that the queen gave it the name of Virginia, offering all imaginable encouragement to Mr. Raleigh to pursue the discovery of it; and an act of parliament was soon after passed, confirming the patent. The climate, according to captain Barlow, was temperate, the air wholesome, and the soil fertile, producing every thing necessary for human life: it abounded with game of all sorts; and the honesty of the natives seemed to point it out as the happiest spot in the universe.

The following year sir Richard Greenville, who had been concerned with Mr. Raleigh in the former voyage, encouraged by the success of it, fitted out seven vessels, well stored with provision and ammunition, taking the principal command on himself, and determining to make a settlement at

Virginia; nor was Mr. Raleigh, who had been lately knighted, displeased at having so able a deputy.

The names of the ships were the tyger, of an hundred and forty tons; the roe-buck, of one hundred and forty tons; the lion, of an hundred tons burthen; the Elizabeth of fifty tons; a small bark called the Dorothy, and two pinnaces. Among other remarkable persons who were on board this fleet, and were afterwards promoted in the royal navy, were Mr. Ralph Lane, Mr. Thomas Cavendish, Mr. John Arundel, Mr. Stukely, Mr. Bremige, Mr. Vincent, Mr. Heryot, and Mr. John Clark: and with these sir Richard Greenville left Plymouth on the 9th of April.

On the 7th of May he came up with Dominica, and landed at Porto Rico, where he built a pinnace, and erected a fort; and having seized two very rich ships, in one of which were several passengers, whose ransom amounted to a large sum, and done the Spaniards considerable damage otherways, he afterwards steered for Isabella, a town in the island of Hispaniola, where he was for some time allowed to trade, rather for fear of the mischief he might do, were that liberty refused him, than thro' esteem.

From hence he proceeded to the coast of Florida, where he was in some danger off Cape Fear; however, he came to anchor at the island of Wokoken on the 26th of June, and here he lost his ship: however, crossing over to the main continent, Sir Richard was received very courteously by the natives, particularly by the king's brother; and this kind reception he and his people in some measure owed to the Indians, whom we mentioned to have been carried to England by the former adventurers, and were now brought back.

The accounts we have of this voyage are couched in very general terms; but it seems, they found the
appear-

appearance of a settlement here so very promising, that they left an hundred and eight men under the care of Mr. Ralph Lane, and captain Philip Amydas, with every thing necessary for that end, to establish a colony, and then hoisted sail for England, taking in their road a Spanish ship of three hundred tons burthen, valued at fifty thousand pounds, with which they arrived safely at Plymouth October 18th, 1585, and sold off their cargoes, consisting of skins, fur, and pearl, to special advantage.

When Sir Richard was gone, the people that he left behind him settled in an island called Rannoak, where every thing thrived with them very well; the soil being very kindly, and some pease and beans that they had planted shooting up admirably: and now turning their views upon inland discoveries, they penetrated upwards of eighty miles to the southward of Rannoak, and an hundred and thirty to the northward; but, reposing too much confidence in the Indians, they lost several of their men, who straying perhaps but a little distance from the main body, were surpris'd and cut off. And when once these people had done them one injury openly, they became their implacable enemies, and took every opportunity of hurting them: this conduct indeed some of them confessed they believed to be absolutely necessary, not supposing the English could forgive an insult on any account; an inference which they drew from their own disposition: for, tho' they appeared to be simple, honest, and void of dissimulation, they were treacherous, designing, and insatiably revengeful: besides, they did not like that the English should go so far up the country; and they had set a scheme on foot for destroying them all, which was happily discovered and prevented.

The setting in of winter abridged their farther progress; and neither understanding the nature of the climate, laying in a stock of provisions, nor being upon good terms with the natives, they were reduced to very great extremities; being in want of every necessary, and in perpetual fear of the natives, who seemed intent on seizing any opportunity to destroy them. In this condition, Sir Francis Drake found and supplied them with victuals, ammunition, men, and every thing necessary to forward their enterprize, besides a bark of which they stood in much need; for Sir Richard Greenville, tho' he had left captain Amydas among them with the title of admiral, seemed to have forgotten for what end, not having afforded them a ship of any fort.

The colony began again to have some hopes of flourishing, when a violent storm arose which disconcerted all their scheme again, driving the ship, on board which were some of the chief adventurers to sea, so that they were obliged to return home.

This accident so dispirited those that remained behind, that they unanimously petitioned Drake to take them on board, with which request he complied, and accordingly left the coast with them on the 18th of June, and landed them at Portsmouth July the 27th, 1586, being in number one hundred and three men; according to which account, they must have lost but five hands, which small loss is inconsistent with what they have related themselves of their distresses; but I am apt to believe it to have been much more considerable, nor am I singular in my opinion, many persons who have written concerning this voyage confirming the conjecture.

C H A P. II.

Sir Richard Greenville's second voyage to Virginia; he settles another colony, with orders to build a fort, but the men are cut off by the natives: Mr. John White builds Raleigh's town, and goes for succour to England; misses his people at his return, and sets sail for England: Sir Walter's expedition to the Azores.

IN a very short time after their departure, a ship arrived upon the coast, fitted out by Sir Walter for the relief of the colony, stocked with provisions, ammunition, recruits, and all manner of necessaries; which, finding the place abandoned, after a short stay, returned home.

In about a fortnight after their departure, Sir Richard Greenville arrived there a second time with three ships, all well provided, for the encouragement of the colony, which to his great grief he found deserted; however, this did not deter him from endeavouring to make another settlement, wherefore he left fifteen men behind him with instructions to erect a fort, furnishing them with all manner of necessaries for the term of two years, and giving them the strongest assurances of constant assistance; but they were all surprized and murdered by the natives, and their fort destroyed.

This account of them was given by Manteo, one of the Indians whom we mentioned to have been in England and brought back again; a man who proved faithful to the English interest all along, and was very serviceable to a small fleet of three ships, which arrived at Rannoak on the 22d of June, 1587, having on board a large quantity of supplies, and one Mr. John White, a man of courage and resolution, on whom Sir Walter entirely

relied, having given him the title and commission of governor of Virginia.

This man immediately set about erecting new habitations upon the very spot where the old ones had stood, for which I suppose he had very cogent reasons, as in so doing he acted contrary to his instructions; he also selected eleven of his ablest people, whom he formed into a body for a council, calling them the governor and court of assistants of Raleigh's town, in honour of his employer; and by his conduct, there was room to expect that the time was at length come, in which the discovery of this country might turn to the advantage of the undertakers, and conduce to increase the commerce of England.

The governor's vigilance and industry soon rendered him formidable to the natives, who courted his friendship, and made treaties with him; which they scrupled not to break, when they thought they had the least advantage, and were so very troublesome, that nothing could have held out against them, but the most extraordinary resolution. On the 13th of August, Manteo acknowledging himself a Christian, was baptized, and created by the governor lord of Dassamonpeak, a neighbouring nation of Indians; this title was conferred on him in consideration of the services he had done the English.

Mrs. Dare, the governor's daughter, was brought to bed of a female child, on the 18th of the same month, which was baptized by the name of Virginia, out of respect to the country in which she was born; and this was the first child born of Christian parents on the English settlements of Virginia.

This affair of the colony seemed now to be in a very thriving way, when governor White was unanimously selected as the properest person to set out for

for England, to solicit supplies of men, provisions, &c. In pursuance of the general request he undertook the voyage, and after a very dangerous passage, arrived safely in Cornwall, in the month of November, 1587: he found it very hard to succeed in his commission, on account of the consternation into which the nation was flung by the reports of the Spanish armada which had so long threatened the destruction of England; however, at last he was furnished with three ships properly equipped, with which he set out, and arrived at Kannoak after a prosperous voyage; but here he had the mortification to find his people removed; and by the word Croatan being engraved on one of the pallisadoes of the fort, he, not without reason, inferred they might have removed to an island of that name, about twenty leagues to the southward of Rannoak.

This circumstance determined him to steer for that place, and to that intent they all reimbarcked, but a violent tempest rising, drove them from their anchors, separated the ships, and forced them out to sea; so that they reached home in a much worse condition than when they went out; and this last blow seemed to have destroyed all thoughts of an expedition, from which at first was expected prodigious wealth.

The disorders of the latter end of the queen's reign, and the vast expence which Sir Walter himself had been at in endeavouring to fix a colony upon this land, without any benefit or advantage, contributed to the neglect in which it was for some time after held; besides, as he had thrown the care of it into the hands of a company of merchant adventurers, having incorporated them by letters patent, and granted them such immunities, as made it plain he had the interest of the trade of his country more at heart, than any private emolu-

ment; he justly imagined that they ought to have paid more respect to so profitable a charge; and their indolence, while it piqued his pride, provoked his resentment, so that he gave up all farther thoughts of Virginia.

We ought to have premised some account of an expedition concerted by Sir Walter Raleigh against the Azores, before he gave up all thoughts of Virginia.

But as it would have broken the thread of our narration, we flatter ourselves, an abstract of it in this place will not be disagreeable.

On the 10th of June 1586, Sir Walter sent two pinnaces, the *Mary Spark* of fifty tons burthen, commanded by John Evesham, and the *Serpent* of thirty-five tons, Jacob Whiddon commander, to cruize against the Spaniards of the Azores. In their course, they took a small vessel laden with sumack and other rich commodities, having several passengers of note on board, whose ransom came high; amongst them was a Portuguese gentleman who had been governor of St. Michael. Soon after this acquisition, as they cruized off the island of Graciosa, in sight of Tercera, they espied a Spanish ship, and hoisting a white flag, bore down on her; but when they came within shot, they lowered their Spanish and hoisted English colours, giving her a broad side, so that she was soon forced to surrender, having first thrown her instructions, letters, and a map of the streights of Magellan, into the sea. In this vessel they made prisoner Don Pedro de Sarmiento, who had been governor of the streights of Magellan, and was reckoned one of the best sailors in all Spain; this gentleman was afterwards introduced to queen Elizabeth, and contracted a strict intimacy with Sir Walter Raleigh.

They

They next seized a vessel laden with fish, bound to Cape Blanco, and the following day, one of their boats with onely nine men brought off a vessel from under the protection of a fort in the island of Graciosa; tho' there were numbers of men furnished with fire arms, who saw this transaction from the shore, and made no shew of resistance, except by throwing stones; so that they had not a single man either killed or wounded.

In their return home, they fell in with a very rich fleet of Spanish merchantmen laden with gold, silver and spices, with which they maintained a running fight of thirty-two hours, harrassing them terribly, nor would they have declined the engagement without being paid handsomely for their trouble, had they not wasted all their powder; a circumstance which obliged them to sheer off, and they made the best of their way to Plymouth; where they found their captures put in but few hours before them; and with these, after some little rest, they steered for Southampton, where they were met by their honourable owner, who immediately ordered every man his proper dividend of the cargoes, which consisted of elephants teeth, Brasil wood, sugar, hides, beefwax and other valuable commodities, over and above which he rewarded them very liberally.

C H A P. III.

Sir Walter goes upon another expedition to the West-Indies, but is recalled, and his authority devolves upon Sir Martin Frobisher and Sir John Burgh: Sir Walter in danger of being lost: several valuable prizes are taken and brought into England: some doubts respecting our hero.

IN the beginning of the year 1592, Sir Walter Raleigh meditated another cruize against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, and particularly designed to have made a descent upon Panama, assembling thirteen ships well provided with men, provisions and ammunition of all sorts; to which the queen added two ships of her own, and gave him the title and authority of general of the forces upon that expedition; a distinction, I think, that contradicts what Sir William Monson, in his naval tracts, would insinuate; for he attributes Sir Walter's going upon this voyage to his losing the queen's favour, tho' he don't mention the cause of his disgrace.

This fleet was kept in the harbour by contrary winds, upwards of three months, before which time the Spaniards having received sufficient intelligence concerning their destination, had taken all possible measures to frustrate their intentions. However, they put to sea on the 6th of May, and on the 7th of the same month they were overtaken by the *Disdain*, a pinnace belonging to the lord high admiral, having on board Sir Martin Frobisher with the queen's letter to Sir Walter, revoking his command, and ordering him to surrender his commission, and the conduct of this expedition, to Sir John Burgh and the bearer.

However,

However, Sir Walter thinking his honour too deeply engaged to retire, determined to continue in the fleet, although Mr. Nevil Davies, whom he met at sea, in a ship belonging to Mr. Gourdon governor of Calais, assured him that the Spaniards were every where on their guard against them; and that there was no chance of meeting any prizes at sea, the king of Spain having sent orders to all his American ports, that no vessel should stir out, nor any treasure be shipped that year.

But neither this intelligence could discourage him, nor a terrible tempest that overtook him on the 11th, which scattered the fleet, and carried away the long boats; Sir Walter himself being in great danger on board the Garland, which was one of the queen's ships.

Altho' Sir Walter saw plainly that pursuing his first scheme would be ineffectual, besides that his provisions began to run short, he was determined not to return home without doing something; therefore he divided his fleet into two squadrons, one under the command of Sir Martin Frobisher to lie off the coast of Spain, and keep the Spaniards in awe, while the other commanded by Sir John Burgh was ordered to cruize off the Azores, and try to pick up some of the Caracca ships; this disposition had the desired effect, for the news of an English fleet being off their southern coast, made them bend all their views to the protection of it, while the Caraccas were left open to the attempts of Sir John Burgh, of whose design they seemed to have received no intelligence. Before the squadrons separated, they sent home a prize of six hundred tons laden with iron work of all sorts, valued at near seven thousand pound; and soon after Sir John took a fly-boat to the southward of the rock of Lisbon, by the crew of which he

was informed, that there was a formidable fleet assembled at Cadiz and St. Lucar, which had orders to pursue Raleigh's fleet to the West-Indies, or by whatever course he should take; Sir John had like to have fallen in with them shortly after, but he got dexterously out of their track, being a better sailer, and pursued his voyage to the Azores, where he took some small craft, that were but of little advantage.

June the 21st, he arrived off the Flores; and having hung out a white flag, was supplied with such necessaries as he stood most in need of, by the inhabitants of a small town called Santa Cruz. Here he was joined by three ships belonging to the earl of Cumberland, and chased a large carrack, who ran herself on shore, and her crew having taken out what they could of her cargo, set her on fire; however, a body of one hundred men landing from the ships, saved many valuable articles from the flames.

At this place, having received an account of three other Caracca ships bound the same way, in about fifteen days, Sir John ordered his vessels to spread themselves from north to south, each two leagues from the other, by which disposition they commanded a view of two degrees; and in that situation, cruized about seven leagues to the westward of Flores, till the 3d of August, waiting for the Caraccas; when one of them was discovered of prodigious bulk, by captain Thomson, who bore down, and attacked her, but sustained great damage, and was forced to sheer off, as was also Sir John himself, who attacked her with great bravery, but received a shot between wind and water, which made him afraid of sinking; then Sir Robert Cross getting under her stern, raked her fore and aft, and fought her singly three hours; till he was at length supported by the earl

earl of Cumberland's ships, which seconded him with such spirit, that they soon boarded her, Sir Robert Cross being the first man that entered her deck; and in a short time she struck.

This ship was brought safely into Dartmouth on the 7th day of September; she was called the *Madre de Dios*, of sixteen hundred tons burthen, carried thirty two brass cannon, and six hundred men; from stem to stern she measured one hundred and sixty-five feet, was forty-seven feet broad, and had seven decks. Her lading consisted of spices, drugs, silks, carpets, callicoes, pearls, musk, civet, ambergrease, china, ivory, and many other valuable commodities; which Sir Walter himself and Sir John Hawkins valued at five hundred thousand pound, tho' they produced upon sale not more than one hundred and fifty thousand pound; but the reason of this was very evident; for the sailors, officers, and soldiers had confiscated to their own use, and secreted several caskets of jewels and other rich goods, in such quantities, that she drew five feet less water when brought into England, than when she had been freighted in the East-Indies; nay, Camden tells us that neither order, oath, nor proclamation could prevent the people from this embezzlement, for they loudly declared, they had rather trust their souls to God, than their fortunes to men. And indeed they had some colour of excuse for this conduct, for even in those days, the dividends of prize money were not made with the greatest exactness; especially if the queen was any way concerned; for then by virtue of her royal authority, she made the adventurers submit to accept what portions she pleased to allot them; and those were not over satisfactory, which Mr. Lediard in his *Naval History* assures us was the case on the sale and division of the *Madre de Dios*, or mother of God.

Tho'

Tho' it is not exprefly faid in the accounts of Sir Walter's life, at what time he left the fleet, yet we have fome reason to think he did fo, when he faw that nothing of any great importance could be done; as we don't find any perfonal mention of him in the engagement with the Carack; and Lediard affirms tha the came home, immediately after the ftorm of the 11th of May, having firft given order for dividing the fleet as we before obferved.

C H A P. IV.

Sir Walter intrigues with a maid of honour, whom he marries; nevertheless he is disgraced; and banished from court: refolves on a voyage for difcovering the Guiana coast: an account of its fituation: ftorms a Spanifh fettlement; takes the governor prifoner; and fets five Indian kings, whom he kept in chains, at liberty: Raleigh harangues the Indian chiefs; and refolves to proceed.

SIR Walter, while thefe voyages were purfuing, was generally held in great efteem at court, where contracting too clofe an intimacy with mifs Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and one of the queen's maids of honour, the effects of which appeared in that lady's pregnancy; he fell under his fovereign's difpleafure, and was confined for feveral months, nor did he obtain his liberty but on condition of retiring from court, tho' he made the neceffary atonement by taking her to wife.

While this cloud hung over his good fortune, he determined on a voyage for difcovering fuch parts of the coast of Guiana as remained hitherto unknown; being affured by all accounts, that fettling a colony of his countrymen on this valuable territory,

tory, would be a balance against the additional power annexed to the crown of Spain by the reduction of Peru and Mexico; whose riches were generally supposed to be equalled, if not excelled by this, as yet, unconquered tract.

Guiana lies to the eastward of Peru, directly under the equinoctial, and the reports concerning its wealth are very surprizing. Guevara, in his history of the Indies, mentions the principal city of it, called Manfa, as a place of vast magnificence; every vessel in the palace of the emperor was of gold or silver; nay his chairs and tables were of these metals, and besides he possessed innumerable almost unheard of curiosities, the most valuable in the world. Gold dust was also reported to be so plenty there, that the natives, at certain solemn festivals, resembling the Roman Bacchanalia, used to sprinkle it over their naked bodies, first rubbing them with a glutinous balsam to which it might adhere.

Five ships were fitted out for this expedition; however, Sir Walter set sail only with one bark, besides the vessel in which he was himself, and the others were ordered to join him off the Canaries; on the 6th of February, 1595, he left Plymouth, and came to anchor at Point Curiapan, called by the Spaniards Punta de Gallo, in the island of Trinidad, on the 22d of March; whence he in a few days removed to Puerto de los Espanoles, something more to the north-east. Here was a Spanish settlement, and a city newly built, called St. Joseph, and governed by Don Antonio de Berreo, a man of courage and resolution, but cruel and illiterate, very unfit to prosecute discoveries, as scarcely knowing the east from the west; and gaining less intelligence, concerning the country and its products in eleven years, with the loss of above a thousand men and thirty thousand ducats, than Raleigh did in a few days with a handful
of

of men. It was with this person captain Whiddon had some traffic the year before, when sent by Sir Walter to examine the coast; and by his means eight of his men were treacherously cut off, and himself was otherwise fraudulently dealt with.

Having coasted along three parts of the island, and made draughts of the different posts and remarkable places as he sailed, he determined to penetrate up the country, but resolved first to attack and destroy the Spanish settlement, as not thinking it at any rate adviseable to leave such powerful enemies at his back; whom he knew to be intent on his destruction, and whose cruelty had procured them the general hatred of the Indians; besides, by shewing himself an enemy to Spain, Sir Walter hoped not only to acquire the esteem of the natives, but also to secure his progress in the country, which while it served to revenge him on the Spaniards for their ill usage of captain Whiddon's men, would add to his profit and the advantage of his people.

He accordingly made his attack towards evening upon the settlement, captain Calfield surprizing the advanced guard with sixty men, while he himself marched forward with forty more towards the town, which surrendered without any great resistance; the governor Don Antonio Berreo and many other Spanish officers being made prisoners, to whom he behaved with the greatest humanity and politeness; and from their intelligence collected many hints that were of great use to him in his future progression. He also set at liberty many Indian captives, among whom were five petty kings, who were linked together in one chain and confined in a place where they were almost starved to death; having besides undergone very severe torments.

ments, such as being basted with fat bacon, and a thousand other inconceivable cruelties.

The same day arrived to Sir Walter's assistance, captain George Gifford, in the *Lion's Whelp*, a ship belonging to the lord admiral Howard, who with Sir Robert Cecil was deeply concerned in this expedition; and captain Reymis in a *Galego*; who were a very welcome sight, as they had on board many gentlemen and soldiers, together with some useful supplies. Sir Walter, before he proceeded farther on his discovery, in order to make the Indians his friends as much as possible, summoned an assembly of their chiefs, particularly those who were foes to the Spaniards, and there were few among them who were not; whom, by means of his Indian interpreter he harangued, telling them, "He belonged to a virgin queen, " who was the most powerful cacique or sovereign in the north, having more caciques subservient to her than they could count trees in " Trinidad; that she was the patroness of liberty, and a foe to the Castellani, (so the Indians call the Spaniards in many places,) " on account " of their barbarity and oppression; and she having relieved the northern parts of the world " from their servitude, had extended her clemency to the coast of Guiana, by sending him " to free it from their tyranny, and secure it from " their future invasion." He then produced the queen's picture, which they admired extremely; and very little pains had been requisite to make them pay it divine honours. By such sort of addresses here and in other parts in his passage to Guiana, he made the people familiar with the queen's name and virtues, while he bound them strongly to his friendship.

Raleigh now prepared to go forward towards Guiana; tho' Berreo used every argument he could think

think on to dissuade him from it, and the sequel proved he was sincere in his advice. He in vain strove to persuade him, that it was a territory some hundreds of miles farther than had been represented to him; that the way was long and tedious, strewed with very dangerous shallows, over which it was impossible to pass but in very small light boats; that he could not carry half enough of provisions with him, and need expect no succour from the natives, who would not admit of a parly, but burn their towns and retire before him to their fastnesses; asylums accessible only to themselves, their kings and chiefs having enjoined them not to barter gold, nor hold any communication with Christians, as it would prove their destruction; besides, winter was approaching fast, and he would find vast inconveniency from the rains and swelling of the rivers.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances, Raleigh was bent on making a push; and ordered his vice admiral Gifford and captain Calfield to endeavour, at the highest flood, forcing over the shoal to the eastward of the river Capuri's mouth; which they attempted, but, in spite of all their skill, the water fell before they could do it; the master of the Lion's Whelp was sent to try if a small ship could enter at Amana, but he found the bottom here the same with the rest; and John Dowglas, who went likewise on the same search, discovered four open and promising entrances, the bays leading to which were barred up with shoals in the same manner.

In the mean time Raleigh kept up his people's spirits as well as he could, by giving them all manner of encouragement, and appearing very chearful; and his carpenter having cut down an old Galego boat, with banks for oars, of only five feet draught, he embarked on board her with
sixty

sixty of his people; and was followed by Gifford's wherry with twenty, Calfield's with ten, and a barge of his own with ten more; with which they went forward, having above twenty miles of a very boisterous sea to pass in the beginning; and being forced by the wind into the bay of Guanipa, where they were annoyed by the poisoned arrows of the natives, who are very voracious cannibals, and from thence they found a passage into one of the rivers, of which Dowglas had brought intelligence.

CHAP. V.

They suffer very great hardships in their progress; make a prisoner, and are in danger of losing their old pilot: of people that live in trees: they are in want of provisions, and lose a young negro; find some marks of gold, and receive intelligence where to get it: Sir Walter enters the river Oronoko, and is visited by a neighbouring king.

THEIR accommodation was certainly very bad, being exposed to the driving rain or the scorching sun by day; and having nothing but the hard plank to repose on by night. Certainly not the worst prison could be more distasteful than so many people closely stowed together, with very few cleanly necessaries, or rather none, so that the bare frowzy smell of their cloaths must have been very disagreeable; besides their food being cooked in the midst of them, which was mostly stale fish, and that not over delicate, increased the dissatisfaction. The prospect was moreover rather terrible than indifferent; for tho' in four days they got above the force of the tides, they were so whirled round by the different currents and eddies, that after toiling a long time, they often found
they

they had brought themselves back to the place they had been striving to avoid, or from which they set out; and there did not appear any great room to hope a safe extrication from such innumerable streights and islands, so very much alike as scarce to be distinguishable; the borders being crouded with trees that hung their reverend boughs almost to the water edge, adding a gloomy horror to the natural loneliness of the place, to which the changes of the weather and hazards of the water made a considerable addition.

Indeed the whole together seemed sufficient to intimidate the boldest heart; yet the ease and equanimity with which Sir Walter bore every hardship, whose taste for luxury and the pleasures of a court appeared in his manner of cultivating them when at home, invigorated all his followers; and as glory was the game, there was no murmur in the chace, tho' never so hazardous.

At length on the 22d of May, 1595, they entered a river, which they called Red-Cross river, as not knowing any name for it; here they drew up in a creek not far from a town, where their pilot Fernando going on shore, had like to have been torn in pieces by dogs set upon him by some of his hospitable countrymen; however, being a nimble fellow, he escaped, and swam off to Raleigh's barge; during his absence they seized an old man, whose head they threatened to cut off, unless he procured their pilot's liberty; however, they afterwards used him with singular respect, and he was of great use in guiding them thro' the intricacies of the river, among which, tho' well acquainted, he was often at a loss.

The people who inhabit the mouth of this river are called Tivitivas; they are a bold race, much inured to hardship, sensible of the value of liberty, and sufficiently courageous to defend it:
they

they build cabbins on the ground in summer; but, to preserve themselves from the floods of winter, form little huts among the branches of trees, where they live very contentedly: and retirements of this sort are not only common here, but in those parts of the East-Indies wherein there are great rains.

In this river Raleigh's barge ran so forcibly aground, that they despaired of ever disengaging her; however, they got her off in four days, and with prodigious fatigue continued their voyage by the Amana, one of the branches of the Oronoko: they were now within five degrees of the line, and Sir Walter endeavoured to keep them in good humour, by privately directing the pilot to give them hope, from time to time, that they were near an end of their labour. Their provisions being almost all consumed, their old Indian pilot undertook to conduct them, in a very short space, to a town where they might be well supplied; but he amused them all day and all night without the least appearance of being able to keep his word, so that a less prudent leader would have punished him for deceit; however, the succeeding morning, he convinced them of his truth, by pointing out to them a place that afforded them every necessary refreshment.

In this last voyage, which extended to above eighty miles, they met many surprizing fish, some extremely large, particularly crocodiles, one of which swallowed up a young negro attendant of Raleigh's, who went into the water to swim, in sight of the whole company. Soon after this event, they seized two canoes laden with excellent bread, belonging to the Indians called Arwaycás, who ran them on shore, and took refuge in the woods, being persuaded by the Spaniards that Raleigh and his people were cannibals.

He followed them with a view of acquiring intelligence, and as he crept thro' the bushes, stumbled on a refiner's basket, in which were quick-silver, salt-petre, and other things necessary in trying metals, together with some refined ore. Then he found the Arwaycas, who informed him, that they had been accompanied by two other canoes laden with gold ore, which had escaped; one of these people he kept for his pilot, and from him, he learned where, when and how the Spaniards worked for gold; which intelligence he communicated to two of his people, to be made use of at a proper season; one of these Arwaycas he kept to pilot him, he having before served the Spaniards in the same capacity: and having here sufficiently refreshed his companions, they appeared as well satisfied as himself, and promised to follow him to the end of the world; so that on the 6th of June, they entered the river Oronoko, and obtained a true account of the nations inhabiting the banks on each side of it.

This river lies due east and west; it is one of the largest in the world, being computed three hundred miles wide at the mouth, extending from the sea to Quito in Peru; it is navigable for ships of burthen a thousand miles, and for lesser vessels double that space; it discharges itself by sixteen mouths into the sea, is generally twenty fathom deep, and in no place less than two and a half.

On the 5th day after his entering this river, he came to anchor at Morequito, in the province of Aromaia, being more than three hundred miles within land; and here, the ensuing day about noon, he was visited by the king of the province, to whom he had sent an invitation. This monarch, tho' one hundred and ten years old, came on foot, and

and walked stoutly back the same day, the length of his journey being above twenty-eight miles.

He brought with him a large train of attendants both male and female, with plenty of provisions and variety of fruit; and held a long discourse, in which he descanted much upon the cruelty of the Spaniards; to which Raleigh answered, in a speech not unlike that made to the chiefs in the island of Trinidad, in which he set forth, "The virtues of his sovereign queen, whose greatest ambition," he said, "was to relieve distressed nations, and curtail the pride and power of the Spaniards or Castellani, which were the only motives of her sending him to Guiana:" he then began to inquire into the strength, policy, alliances, and government of the country, its disposition with regard to its neighbours, and the easiest methods of invading it; to all which interrogations the king replied in a manner so perspicuous and ingenuous, as plainly to evince, that judgment and ratiocination are not entirely the effects of learning, or of education, but nature's unbiassed gifts.

Some of the royal attendants presented Raleigh with a very small but curious kind of parroquito; also with a little animal not much known at that time, called the armadilla, whose body is covered with a hard scale like the rhinoceros, and bears a white horn of great efficacy in medicine. After the king's departure, our intrepid adventurer sailed westward up the river Cacoli, being thereunto induced not only by the account of the many wonders it afforded in itself, but also because it led to a nation, the people of which were subject to the emperor of Guiana, and celebrated for warlike achievements.

But the current was so extremely rapid, that an eight-oared barge could not gain the length of a stone's throw in two hours, tho' the river was as

broad as the Thames at Woolwich; wherefore sir Walter was forced to land, and encamp upon the banks, while he sent off an Indian to acquaint the lords of Canuri, who dwelt in that province, of his arrival; and a prince, called Wonuretona, soon after came down to visit him, having a numerous train of followers, and bringing all kinds of refreshment; from him he learned that the Carolians were not only declared enemies to the Spaniards, but also to the Epuremei, a neighbouring nation abounding with gold: he was also informed, that at the head of this river were three other nations of the same disposition; and also that there was a silver mine on the banks of it, but it was not then possible for any boat to live upon the surface, the waters being much out, and the swell very great; wherefore he dispatched between thirty and forty men to coast along the river side by land; while he himself, with a few officers and some ammunition, marched up the country, to take a view of the cataracts of the river, the noise of which they had heard at a very great distance.

C H A P. VI.

They find every where great marks of a wealthy and plentiful country: an account of men whose countenances are in their breasts: an endeavour of Mr. Theobald to explain this phenomenon: they return to their ships; and in the way, Sir Walter has another conference with the old king; and is conducted to a gold mine by a cacique.

FROM the top of one of the first hills commanding the river, they beheld it divide into three streams, which ran very rapidly upwards of twenty miles, for they did not suppose their sight took in a more extensive view, and were intersected by several tremendous falls, that added a pleasing yet fearful variety to the landscape; pouring over rocks of prodigious height, with such force, that the vapour arising from the rebound was like a heavy shower of rain, or rather resembled the thick smook hanging over a well inhabited city; while the noise nearly equaled that of thunder.

Never did country wear a more agreeable or inviting appearance; the plains were level and extensive, free from brambles, covered with rich grass, and beautifully watered; the soil was hard and fit for either walking or carriage, and here and there a hill rearing up its verdant head, as if by chance, gave new pleasure to the prospect: no music was ever exceeded by the concert of birds, that, as the evening descended, perched on every bough, and while these charmed the ear, the eye was enchanted with their delightful plumage; on the banks of the river were cranes and herons of white, crimson, carnation, and other lively colours. The air, which was kept in motion by a salutary eastern breeze, smelt of perfume, and no

place in the world could give fairer hopes of immense wealth, every stone which they stooped to take up bearing the marks of gold or silver intermixed with its other particles; however, a Spaniard well skilled in metals, to whom some of these were shewn, said they were the *madre de oro* or mother of gold, being of small value themselves, but a proof of the existence of mines not far off.

There is a river in this country called Caora, the banks of which are inhabited by a people whose heads are fixed in their breast, and who have no neck: Raleigh does not pretend to have seen these people himself, but says he received information concerning them, from persons whose veracity could not be called in question at any rate; Sir John Mandeville speaks of them in his travels, but, on comparison, it appears that he copied his description of them verbatim from Pliny.

Mr. Theobald, in his notes upon the play of Othello, advances a conjecture with respect to to them, that has its foundation in judgment, and carries some probability; he says, that a certain set of people in northern Muscovy wear a close garment, which has very long sleeves, and is only open at the neck; and that in cold weather they draw out their hands, and throw this covering over their heads, so that their faces are seen at the opening, originally adapted to the neck; while like arms, the empty sleeves hang down from above the ears; and it is very probable, that a race of people thus equipped, being only indistinctly observed from a distance, might give some rise to the notion of these monsters.

Their progress now began to grow disagreeable and fatiguing, the rains falling thick, and the floods pouring so suddenly from the hills, that they were before night up to the neck in water, upon spots of
ground

ground over which, in the morning, they had marched dry shod; besides, the tempest every day increased, and the navigation of the river became dangerous; moreover, every man of them was pretty weary of his cloaths, having worn them above a month without change, or being in any other manner refreshed but by the rains, which washed them often on the owner's back ten times a day: these and many other inconveniencies determined them to discontinue their course, and make the best of their way back to the ships, from which they had now been a month absent; having gone about four hundred miles, and made many curious discoveries as to the situation, riches, and manners of the different territories on which they had chanced to touch.

Tho' the wind was against them, they found very little trouble in their return, for the force of the stream carried them at the rate of a hundred miles a day: they made a stop at the port of Morequito, Sir Walter being desirous of conferring again with the old king, for whose reception he pitched a tent on the strand; nor was it long before his royal guest arrived, with a very numerous train loaded with provisions and presents. Raleigh questioned him with regard to the best way of coming at the richest parts, and the most civilized towns of Guiana: the answers which the king gave him were very satisfactory; he intimated to him, that he should not think of penetrating as far as the great capital Manoa, for neither the season of the year befriended him, nor was his number of men sufficient for the enterprize; he also told him, that in the plains of Maureguarai, the first civilized town of Guiana, and about four days journey from Morequito, three hundred Spaniards had been lately cut off, who had invaded it, without having made any friends among their bordering

nations, most of whom were enemies to, and would be ready enough to join in any attempts against the kingdom of Guiana; therefore they ought previously to be won.

In this place, he said, were generally made the plates of gold and other utensils of that metal, which were scattered over the empire; and when Raleigh sought to know how they severed it from the stone, the king replied, they seldom troubled themselves with the gold in the stone; that which they commonly used, being found in grains of great purity on the lake of Manoa, and many other rivers; that they mingled with it a certain portion of copper to temper it; and then threw it into a large earthen pot over a great fire, the heat of which was made more intense by being blown by the breath of men, communicated by long reeds; and when the metal was in a state of fusion, it was thrown into moulds of stone or clay, and so formed either into images or plates. Sir Walter brought samples of both sorts home with him, not so much for the value, as to shew their nature; for to prevent these people from entertaining a notion that he came for gold, he gave among them in presents more value, in twenty shilling pieces of the queen's coin, whose image they bore, and the natives hung about their necks, than he brought from thence in unwrought gold.

The king informed him that he might easily, in his opinion, with his present force, seize on the town of Maquereguarai, and offered to assist him as well as he could, provided fifty Englishmen were left behind for his body guard; but Raleigh declined the expedition because of the season of the year, and for many other reasons: on which the king begged of him to evacuate his territories as soon as possible, lest the Epuremei should return and revenge upon them his sojourn therein after he was
gone;

gone; or that the Spaniards should insult him for it; they having once before made him feel the weight of their resentment, by taking him prisoner, and hurrying him about in chains for seventeen days; after which he was forced to pay an hundred plates of gold, and several chains of spleen-stone, for his ransom.

He also complained grievously of the Epuremei having plundered him and his subjects of all their women, so that those who used formerly to have ten or a dozen wives, were now reduced to three or four, and he assured Raleigh, that the hopes of recovering them, without any other view whatsoever, would secure to him the assistance of him and his people, if he returned at a proper season of the year; and concluded it was not without vexation, that they knew the chiefs of the Epuremei possessed from fifty to a hundred women each, while he and his subjects were curtailed in their number. Sir Walter did not leave them without strict promises of returning.

At his departure, a great cacique, called Putijona, promised to shew him a wealthy gold mine, which, with much fatigue, they reached, tho' to little purpose, having no instruments for either working or digging; and to have staid to have dug with their nails, Raleigh himself says, might have been a proof of their unwearied industry, but not at all of their good sense. In this journey one of their attendants kindled a fire, by rubbing together two sticks, that have the same effect as a flint and steel, and here they dried their shirts, which were heavy and wet with the great heat. They also saw many rocks shining like gold, a round hill of mineral stone, and a very high mountain looking at a distance like a white church-tower of prodigious height, from the top of which burst a vast torrent, and this was called the

Chrystal Mountain; and contained, as Berreo told him, diamonds and other valuable stones, that were often seen to blaze from afar with great lustre.

This mountain was situated in the river Winicaporá, on the banks of which he found a village bearing the same name. The inhabitants of it had all got drunk by way of honouring some solemn festival; however, they refreshed him and his people plentifully, and gave them a very fine flavoured wine pressed from the pine-apple. One would have imagined they derived this method of keeping holiday from a communication with some part of Europe.

In his return to his ships, he was overtaken by a violent storm, and had like to have been lost among the shoals, being obliged with Gifford, Calfield, and Grenvil, to quit his galley, and take to his boat; with which he ventured out upon a very boistrous sea, and was so lucky as next day to reach Curiapan, in the island of Trinidad, where his ships lay at anchor, and where he was soon joined by his galley.

C H A P. VII.

Sir Walter reaches his ships in safety; sets sail for England; burns the Spanish town of Cumana for refusing him victuals, and destroys some other Spanish settlements. Some observations on the consequences of this voyage.

IN all this dangerous progress he lost but one man, and that was the negro who was swallowed up by the crocodile; nor did there appear amongst his people the smallest sign of a calenture or of any other infectious disorder, notwithstanding the many difficulties they had sustained; tho' they had been in want of every conveniency, and frequently stood in need of food, or were forced to eat any sort of fish or fruit that fell in their way; for they were sometimes reduced to prey upon the crocodile, the armadilla, and the sea-cow or manati; the last is a fish more bulky than a hog-head, which yields excellent oil; its flesh is said to be like beef, and its hide, when dressed, is an excellent buff, of which are made strong targets and armour.

In his return home, he burned the town of Cumana, because the Spaniards refused him victuals, and St. Mary's and Rio de la Hacha underwent the same fate; nor is it probable, tho' Camden and others, who were not Sir Walter's best friends, affirm it, that he could have got much plunder in these places; the Spaniards retiring with their riches to the strong holds, and inaccessible places in the mountains: be this as it will, his voyage added to the increase of his fame, and procured him a great deal of glory.

He was received in England with vast acclamations of joy, bringing with him the son of the

old king whom we have so often mentioned, who was converted to Christianity, and baptized by the name of Gualtero, or Walter, which name I suppose Sir Walter himself gave him; in lieu of whom he left behind him, at their own requests, Hugh Goodwin, a boy of a quick capacity, to learn the Indian languages, but he was unfortunately devoured by a wild beast; and one Francis Sparrow, an excellent draughtsman, who staid for the sake of describing the country.

The praise of Sir Walter Raleigh, on account of this voyage, employed the pens of many ingenious men of those times; captain Keymis, who was one of the adventurers, wrote a latin poem, describing the riches and situation of the country; and recapitulating the whole expedition; and Mr. George Chapman composed an heroic poem of two hundred lines on it, in which are many great compliments paid to the prudence and intrepidity of Sir Walter; who published an account of all his adventures in this progress, written by himself.

That he opened a passage to one of the richest nations, by all accounts, in the world, is very certain; and had the queen taken pains to encourage the settlement of it, the English crown would have had a balance of treasure equal to that of Peru, Mexico, and the other Indian dominions of Spain: but there were many people concerned in the management of public affairs, who, jealous of Sir Walter's great abilities, took every opportunity of depressing his merits; thus chusing to sacrifice their country's interest to personal and private advantage. And to support their invidious insinuations, some of them were weak enough to say, that the ore which he brought home with him, was purchased in Barbary for a blind, and not the produce of Guiana. Some of this ore was refined in

London,

London, and produced from twelve to twenty-seven thousand pound in the ton.

But why should we be surprized at the reflections flung on sir Walter? Was not Columbus treated as a visionary, when he first talked of a new world? and Faustus called a magician, because he introduced printing?

C H A P. VIII.

Captain Keymis sent with two ships on another expedition to Guiana, but returns without any great success: sir Walter employed in an expedition against Spain; is dangerously wounded: Cadiz is destroyed; and the town of Faro plundered: Leonard Berry's expedition to Guiana: a race of giants discovered: some doubts concerning the city of Manoa.

NOtwithstanding all possible endeavours were used to discourage sir Walter from pursuing his designs upon Guiana, he fitted out two vessels, the Darling and the Discoverer, under the command of captain Keymis, with a view rather of cherishing the friendship he had contracted with the Indians on the coast, than of pursuing measures of hostility, to which such force was unequal.

Keymis left England the latter end of January, and made a prosperous voyage to the port of Moquito, where he received intelligence of the death of the old king Topiowary, and of the loss of Francis Sparrow, who had been carried into captivity by the Spaniards; they having artfully propagated a report of sir Walter's death, whereby several Indian chiefs, who had assembled their powers, and waited only his arrival to attack the Guianians, had been wrought upon to dismiss their forces, and secure themselves. By this time the Spaniards had made a settlement on the mouth of the river Caroli

roli, where they were preparing, with a battery of cannon, to give the English a warm reception, who with heavy hearts found themselves thus disappointed of their prey, as this was the passage to the mines, whence sir Walter had taken ore the preceding year: then Keymis, hoping some assistance from the cacique Putijma, marched up towards the high lands, whither he with his people had retired, intending to have set them to work, to bring grains of gold and ore in return for hatchets, knives, and other trinkets of which they were fond; or else, if strong enough, to endeavour dislodging the Spaniards; but here he met with a second disappointment, for Putijma and his followers fled on their approach, mistaking them for the enemy.

However, during his stay upon the coast, he had conferences with several of the natives, who were loud in the praises of sir Walter Raleigh, and expressed their inclination to support any measures set on foot by his countrymen, as he had behaved to them with such moderation and justice. And the cacique of Carapana, an old man, of great subtlety, sent him a solemn deputation, with assurances of friendship, and an excuse for not visiting him, as he had first promised, pleading age, infirmities, and a fatiguing road. Keymis sent him a very valuable present of old iron, and when he left the coast, promised a speedy return with considerable succour; and told the people, that if they prepared him plenty of cassavi, the root which they use for bread, and some few plates of gold, he would give them a large quantity of beads, hatchets, and knives; and the estimation in which they hold these commodities is seen in Francis Sparrow's buying eight handsome young women, to the south of the Oronoko, the eldest not eighteen years old, for a red hatted knife, that, on an average, cost him but a half-penny in England.

Captain

Captain Keymis arrived at Portland the latter end of June, having been only five months upon the voyage, of which he afterwards published an accurate account, inscribed to Sir Walter Raleigh, whose attachment to the public good he therein particularly, and indeed justly compliments.

In the mean time, sir Walter Raleigh commanded a squadron, under the lord high-admiral Howard and the earl of Essex, who sailed to Cadiz with a very powerful naval force, where they entirely destroyed a large fleet, intended for the service of Tyrone, who was in arms against queen Elizabeth in Ireland. In this expedition, the judgment and advice of Raleigh were of great efficacy; and to him was principally owing the victory, his ship gallantly fighting at the head of the fleet, and still keeping the boldest station: but he complained, that tho' he took two galleons himself, he earned nothing but pain and poverty; for he was defrauded of his share of the plunder, and dangerously wounded in the leg. The town of Cadiz was taken by storm, and the city razed to the ground; however, the commanders took all the care they could to preserve the churches; and, before the town was sacked, the women, children, and religious men were safely conducted to Port St. Mary, that they might be out of the way of violence, having liberty to carry off their cloaths, or such other goods as they liked best. Among the fugitives was seen a young Spanish lady, of great beauty, carrying her husband on her back, whom she had before hidden, and whom infirmities had deprived of his legs.

The Spaniards themselves were impartial enough to say, "That tho' the English were heretics, they had behaved in this action like valiant soldiers and honourable men." In their return home, they demolished the town of Faro, where they found

found great store of provision, some artillery, and the valuable collection of books that had belonged to Hieronymus Oforius, bishop of Sylvas and Algarva, a man eminent for his learning; these were brought into England, and lodged in the library begun to be erected the ensuing year by sir Thomas Bodley; to the encouragement of which, some years after, sir Walter gave the sum of fifty pounds, tho' at that time the sun-shine of his fortune was greatly eclipsed; for which I think he received the public thanks of the university of Oxford.

It appears that sir Walter had still sanguine hopes of doing something at Guiana; for, in a very short time after his return from the demolition of Cadiz, he fitted out a handsome pinnace called the Watt, the command of which he gave to Leonard Berry; and having provided her with all necessities for trade and discovery, she set sail from Weymouth in December, and about the beginning of March fell in with the river Wiapouco, on the Guiana coast; where beginning to want provisions, and finding no inhabitants, she steered to Armatto, a town where her crew were plentifully supplied, and treated by the natives, who trafficked freely with them, and behaved with great hospitality.

Captain Berry sent a very civil invitation to a neighbouring cacique, named Ritimo, to come on board his ship; which he accepted of, and was received in a very magnificent manner. The people of the neighbouring towns, on being convinced that this was an English ship, flocked to the sea-shore from all quarters, bringing with them plenty of victuals and tobacco, and appearing very well satisfied with what was given them in exchange; and most of them, as being understood, anxiously solicited the English to come and drive the Spaniards out of their territories.

From

From Armatto they sailed up the river Marawin to Quiparia and Macirra, for the space of fifty leagues, where they had the prospect of a most delicious country, and saw a gigantic sort of people who carried bows of gold; but provisions falling short, they were forced to return without pursuing their discovery farther. On the 19th of April, 1597, they entered the river Caritine, where they met with a bark called the John of London, commanded by one Leigh, of whom Purchas gives some account.

Having rowed more than fifty leagues, till they came to the falls of the said river; and being told of one that was impassable, five days journey farther off, besides being much importuned by the inhabitants of it to assist them against a neighbouring nation, their enemies, an enterprise which was neither consistent with their strength nor interest, they were forced to go back without seeing any signs of the city of Manoa, which they went in quest of, of the wealth of which they had heard much talk. Indeed, by all the most authentic accounts we have had since, there is room to suspect the existence of this city to be only chimerical; for we don't hear of any adventurer that has ever seen it, neither is it set down in the best modern maps, nor mentioned by the accurate Antonio de Herrera: perhaps it was a report first raised by some of the Indians, as a golden bait to engage the Spanish assistance against their foes, and the Spaniards themselves have not revealed the cheat, that the prospect of its wealth may allure their countrymen to pursue their conquests in that country with more spirit.

Captain Berry having procured all the intelligence possible, quitted this climate soon after, and arrived safely at Plymouth June 28th, 1597; nor were his owners in the least dissatisfied with his voyage,

voyage, as he brought farther confirmation of the wealth of Guiana.

C H A P. IX.

Sir Walter Ralegh made rear-admiral, and sent upon another expedition against the naval force of Spain, with the earl of Essex, Lord Thomas Howard, and a Dutch fleet: they proceed to the Azores: Essex guilty of many errors in this expedition: some peculiar marks of distinction shewn to sir Walter.

IN the mean time the king of Spain, not in the least dispirited with the great losses he had hitherto sustained by the valour of the English at sea, had refitted his fleet, and was preparing for another attempt upon Ireland, where the numerous malecontents always gave him hope of success. The rendezvous of the Spanish shipping was appointed to be at Ferrol and the Groyne; in order to destroy which fleet in port, a squadron of great strength was dispatched from England, of which the earl of Essex was admiral in chief, lord admiral Howard being indisposed; lord Thomas Howard, vice-admiral; and sir Walter rear-admiral; to which armament the States General added ten ships of war, commanded by Myn Heer Van Duvenvord: these had also instructions to seize the island of Terzera, or some other of the Azores, as the most proper places in which to wait for the India fleet homeward-bound.

However, their measures were greatly disconcerted by a violent storm, in which not only sir Walter, but the earl had like to have been lost, and very narrowly escaped; during which time the Spaniards had received full information concerning their strength and destination, and took such methods of defence, that when my lord Essex arrived in their view, he found it impossible to attack them

without

without enticing them from their harbour, an endeavour that proved fruitless; on which they bore away for the Azores, where sir Walter coming before Essex, made a descent on Fayal, a service he had intended for himself, in a council at which the rear-admiral had not attended, being prevented by some unavoidable accident, consequently he was ignorant of such a resolution; and tho' there was but little booty got by the descent, it created ill-blood between them, which however, by all accounts, was soon asswaged.

The whole fleet soon after joined; and came up with the island of Flores, the inhabitants of which surrendering, were very kindly used. My lord Essex intended to have remained here for some time, but he was dissuaded from it by one of his pilots, who, unacquainted with the place, affirmed it to be bad ground for anchoring, and set sail for St. Michael's; the Indian fleet arrived there in two hours after his departure, where receiving intelligence of the English, they steered for Angra, in the island of Terzera, in which place they were secured by strong fortifications and a good garrison.

However, three prizes were taken, whose cargoes were extremely rich, being valued at four hundred thousand ducats; two of them struck to Raleigh, who expressed great satisfaction at the wind fall, as he imagined they might, in some measure, veil the many errors into which lord Essex's natural heat several times plunged the fleet in this expedition, whose preference to the soldiery, while it was very particular, often disgusted the navy, and forced them into wrong measures. A proposal being made for an attack on the town of St. Michael, lord Essex went to reconnoitre the place in his barge, accompanied by some land-officers, by whose advice he had often been misled, calling back sir Walter, who had been first commanded on that service;

service: some body spoke to Essex, as he was putting off, to take his armour; an advice which he refused, saying, he scorned to take an advantage to himself which he could not communicate to the men who rowed him. This was not only fool-hardiness, but imprudence; since every man ought to defend himself from danger in the best manner possible, so far as is consistent with honour; and it is incumbent upon a general to be careful of his person, as his being suddenly taken off may expose the body that he leads to such confusion, as is generally consequential to the want of a chief.

However, the earl took care to keep beyond the reach of danger, and on his return reported the landing-place to be inaccessible, tho' certainly much easier than that of Fayal; but he permitted himself to be over-persuaded by the advice of people who had other views, and chose to go on shore about six miles farther off, at Villa Franca, in a pinnacle of Raleigh's, called the Guiana, attended by about two thousand soldiers, who were to have marched down on the back of St. Michael's, while Raleigh, with the great ships, drew as near to the town as he could, by continual alarms to take off their attention from the land-side.

But this vigilance was all thrown away; for the army, instead of acting pursuant to the concerted measures, was allowed to waste five or six days in rioting on the pleasures of the place, where was plenty of all sorts of fresh provisions and fruits, and in assisting some private adventurers, who had followed the fleet for no other purposes, than to load their vessels with such commodities as the country produced; and it was not without infinite surprise, that at the end of several days Essex came off from Villa Franca, without doing it any damage, and gave general sailing orders. Why his lordship proceeded thus, is a question not easily

sily solved; but it was generally thought to be occasioned by some private contract which some in his train knew more of than himself.

During his absence, a ship laden with Brazil wood, Fernambuc sugar, and other rich merchandise, ignorantly coming to anchor in the midst of the English fleet, was seized upon by sir Walter, which proved a valuable prize; and was faithfully disposed of in England to defray the charges of Raleigh's own ship, on board of which were four hundred men, mariners included. In a very short time after, appeared a carrac of eighteen hundred tons, homeward-bound, immensely rich, from the Indies, which supposing the English to be a Spanish squadron, sir Walter having given strict orders for all the ships to lie to, and neither display a flag nor fire a gun, was bearing down full sail upon them, when a meddling Dutchman, contrary to all order and discretion, suddenly weighed anchor, hoisted an ensign, and fired two or three shots at her; which conduct convincing her of her mistake, she endeavoured to make out to sea, but was prevented by the wind chopping about full in her teeth; then, rather than surrender, she ran herself ashore near the fort; and having discharged her men, and some of her treasure, was immediately seen in a blaze, before sir Walter, who followed her in his row-barge, could come up with her; so that it was impossible to save her; which indeed might have been done, had the army, as it ought to have, reached the town of St. Michael's, where, by hindering the men from landing, they for their own sakes must have spared the ship, whose wealth would have sufficiently paid this expedition: nor can the land-forces be excused at any rate for this, and many other pieces of unaccountable neglect they were guilty of in the voyage.

On the 9th of October they failed for England, and were roughly handled by a storm ; after which Raleigh was in great want of water, and many sorts of birds rested on his cordage ; among these was a dove, which was thought not only a precursor of the calm that succeeded, but a happy presage. Sir Arthur Gorges, who has written an excellent account of this whole expedition, and was captain of sir Walter's ship, the Warspite, very justly observes, that the earl of Essex coming up to them when the tempest was allayed, attended by only two or three small barks, who but a short time before was surrounded by above fourscore stately ships, was a true picture of a great man in adversity, a prognostic that ought to have taught him the instability of fortune ; a lesson, the want of which hurt him in his fall.

They now knew themselves near the coast of Scilly, of which old Mr. Broadbent, who piloted Raleigh's ship, was sufficiently aware, and followed the direction of his own knowledge, rather than that of the admiral's light, which guide all the rest of the fleet depended upon. And now the morning breaking slowly thro' an heavy fog, sufficiently proved his skill ; for he had steered clear off, tho' close to the Bishop and Clerks, while Essex was perceived about three leagues a-head, steering his course with expanded sails north-east instead of east and be-north, which in a few hours would have brought him, and all who kept the same way, full upon the Welch sands, where they must have inevitably perished : this had certainly been the case, had not sir Arthur Gorges, who held the latter watch, sir Walter being retired to rest, ordered the master to fire a warning-gun, which he did not chuse to do, until almost forced to it ; for so much had their ignorance vexed and irritated him, that he swore they

they deserved the destruction they were running in for their wilfulness and ignorance.

Essex, upon this admonition, tacked about, finding it very hard to double the Cape of Scilly, and enter the Sleeve: indeed he had humility enough afterwards to confess his error, and acknowledge that he owed his safety to the caution received from sir Walter's ship, which put into St. Ives in Cornwall, where the people were in great confusion, on account of some Spanish fly-boats that had lately made a descent upon the coasts: however, the presence of Raleigh dispelled their fears; and in a few days after, they received an account that the Ferrol squadron had been rendered incapable of pursuing the designed invasion, by the boisterous weather, whereby the ships were not only separated, but many of them disabled.

We shall make no remarks on the conduct of this expedition; the reader, from reviewing it, will draw his own inferences: we shall only observe, that the earl of Essex met with an indifferent reception at court, and retired soon after to his house at Wanstead.

Raleigh was, on his return, elected to serve in parliament, and being lord-lieutenant of the county of Cornwall, and warden of the stannaries, he was observed to act strongly for the advantage of the said county in several contested points; nor was it long before he was appointed vice-admiral of a fleet sent out to guard the coast, against an invasion that, we are told, once again threatened the kingdom, tho' from what quarter is not mentioned by the historians of those times. Lord Thomas Howard was commander in chief of this squadron, which, after about a month's cruize, was ordered home again, the expected storm having subsided. Then, sir Walter was sent to Flanders upon an embassy, the particulars of which are not very remarkable, conjunctly

conjunctly with lord Cobham, and in a short time after was made governor of Jersey : he then attended as captain of the guards at the death of the earl of Essex, and was deputed, along with lord Cobham, &c. to receive the marquiss de Rosney, afterwards Duke of Sully, who was sent in quality of ambassador from France to the court of England.

CH A P. X.

The queen's death lays the foundation of Raleigh's ruin : a slight view of his trial and condemnation : he is set at liberty : his last voyage to Guiana : his great care of not giving the Spaniards any room for complaint.

THE death of queen Elizabeth, which happened shortly after, deprived sir Walter of a very powerful protectress, and his fall seemed to be hastening on apace ; for Essex, who was beheaded in the tower, had laboured hard to misrepresent him, in a literary correspondence which he had held with James, then the VI. of Scotland, now I. of England, which made too deep an impression upon that prince ; and it was confirmed by the dislike of Cecil, who was on very indifferent terms with the knight : this was one of the principal things that contributed to bring him to the bar, where he was condemned to die, for having conspired the death of the king and his issue, and devised putting the crown on the head of lady Arabella Stuart. The chief testimony of his guilt was the deposition of lord Cobham, which that nobleman had made when irritated against Raleigh, and afterwards confessed to be false.

Indeed one would think it was the king's real opinion of him that it was so ; since he was not ordered for execution till many years after this trial ;

trial; and the king himself winked, at his advice being often asked in the most important affairs relating to the state and kingdom: nay, he was at length set at liberty, and allowed to go out of the nation tho' under sentence; nor can any thing justify his being called down to it, after so many years had elapsed, and no new crime was laid to his charge, but that of annoying the enemies of England, and adding more to its glory. Nothing is more evident, than that his destruction was owing to the arts and prevalence of count Gondamor, the Spanish ambassador at our court.

No body, at this day, will deny his being sacrificed to the revenge of the Spaniards, who could not easily forget the many disgraces which he had retorted on them, both by his counsel and conduct; had not this been the case, he would not have lived to see his estate conferred on the new favourite Robert Carr, afterwards earl of Somers, in prejudice to his wife and children, nor had his virtues fallen a prey to the machinations of an infamous faction.

As it is our business only to give an account of the voyages and discoveries made by sir Walter Raleigh, we have passed slightly over many other transactions of his life, taking no more notice of them than such as is necessary in connecting this work; wherefore we shall proceed to observe, that after being confined for twelve years and some odd months he was set at liberty, thro' the mediation of some of the royal family, and several of the nobility; but particularly thro' the influence of sir George Villiers, then a rising favourite, to whom he had promised a considerable share, by way of recompense, in the profits of any voyage he should undertake.

The gold mines of Guiana still employed his thoughts; and he was no sooner free, than he made

what preparations he could to go again upon that expedition; making shift to raise for that purpose ten thousand five hundred pounds, of which two thousand five hundred were produced by the sale of a house and some lands at Micham in Surrey, belonging to his wife. And no sooner was his design made public, than he was joined by several rich people, who advanced large sums towards the principal expence, being in consequence thereof admitted joint-adventurers, and intitled to share the profits of the voyage, in proportion to the sums they had expended at first. The king also granted him a special commission for the voyage, constituting him general and commander in chief of all the forces and ships going upon it, and giving him full power to punish capital crimes, whereby the lives and deaths of all his followers were lodged in his hands; and his authority was made as extensive as possible.

This commission was signed on the 26th day of August, 1616, in the fourteenth year of the reign of King James I. and the powers thereby vested in Raleigh were of such a nature, as, in the opinion of the great sir Francis Bacon, to stand sufficiently in the place of any formal pardon that the King might otherwise have granted to him.

The ships prepared to go on this expedition were,

The *Destiny*, sir Walter Raleigh admiral; Walter Raleigh, son to sir Walter, captain,

440 tons, 36 guns, and 200 men.

The *Jason* of London, J. Pennington vice-admiral,

240 tons, 25 guns, 80 men.

The *Encounter*, Edward Hastings master, who dying, was succeeded by captain Whitney,

160 tons, 16 guns.

The *Thunder*, sir Warham St. Leger captain,

150 tons, 20 guns, 70 men.

The Flying Joan, John Chidley captain,

120 tons, 14 guns, 25 men.

The Southampton, John Bailey captain,

80 tons, 60 guns, 27 men.

The Page, a pinnace, James Barker captain,

25 tons, 3 brass guns, 8 men.

The Convertine, commanded by captain Keymis.

The Confidence, commanded by captain Woolaston.

The Flying Hart, a shallop, sir John Ferne commander.

Two fly boats, commanded by Samuel King and Robert Smith.

Besides, there was one or two more.

Raleigh expected to have sailed with these about the end of March, but many accidents conspired to detain him till the beginning of July; when he turned out of Plymouth harbour, but was driven by a violent storm into Cork in Ireland, where he was detained by contrary winds seven weeks; during which time he bought fifty oxen, which he distributed among his men; and a fair gale springing up, he put to sea on the 19th of August.

September the 6th he arrived off the island of Lancerota, and sent to desire leave from the governor to traffic for provisions: the governor at first promised him a meeting, which he deferred, and at length flatly refused to have any dealings with him, telling him, the islanders were so much afraid of him, that he dared not; and desired that he would draw off such of his men as he had landed upon the island; a request that he complied with, notwithstanding which they fell upon his men, in their retreat, one of whom they slew, loudly declaring he should have nothing from them, for they suspected him and his company to be the Turkish fleet, that had lately destroyed Puerto Sancto. Of this outrage he complained to the governor of the Grand Canaries, who, instead of answering,

fallied out upon his men, as they went to draw water in a defart part of the island; and had not young Raleigh, and some other officers, behaved very gallantly in repulsing them, they had been all cut off. If sir Walter did not return these hostilities, it was because the coast of Spain should have no room to complain of his conduct.

From hence they steered to Gomera, which is a good port, and well defended; where, with a view to oppose their landing, the Spaniards who lined the beach, standing almost in the water, saluted them very roughly, but they were soon dispersed by the cannon of the fleet; after which prelude, he sent a messenger on shore, to assure the governor he had no hostile intention; that he wanted a few necessaries, for which he would pay very honourably; and, if any of his men should attempt the least riot or fraud, he promised to hang them in the market-place: and so well did he keep his word, that when he left the island, the governor wrote a letter by him to count Gondamor, then only Don Diego Sarmiento, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, in which he acknowledged the civil demeanour of Raleigh, giving him that just character which he indisputably merited.

Many civilities passed between him and the governor's lady, who was of English extraction, her name being Horne, and related by the mother's side to the Staffords: she sent him fruits, rusk, sugar, and some other useful presents; for which, in return, he complimented her with a beautiful picture of Mary Magdalene, a ruff of extraordinary fine workmanship, extract of amber, and rose water, a commodity highly valued in the island. Here he set at liberty a bark belonging to the Canaries, which one of his pinnaces had seized off Cape Blanco, the crew of which complaining that his men had eat-

en of their fish, to the value of six ducats, he generously gave them eight.

After he left this place, he was often exposed, by the severity of the weather, to the most imminent dangers; so that while violent opposing storms damaged his ships, destroyed his cables, and tore away his anchors, the unceasing rains and intolerable heat of the climate bred a sickness on board, which carried off numbers of his men, and at length attacked himself with such severity, that it was twenty days before there were any hopes of his recovery; during which, he had such violent sweats, that he was forced to shift at least three times a-day; and had he not carefully preserved some of the refreshments which the lady had bestowed on him, he often declared, he believed it impossible that he should have survived.

About the 12th of October, steering their course for Guiana, they were struck with a dead calm, tho' from every part of the horizon glanced strong portents of tempestuous weather, being so very thick and hazy that they were obliged to use a candle at the binacle at mid-day, otherwise they could not have seen to steer; and watery rainbows, of the most gloomy disagreeable colours, playing continually round them; these sir Walter often met with in the American seas, particularly fifteen in one day, among which was one bent into a circle, and he always observed them to be forerunners of bad weather.

About the latter end of October, their water beginning to run short, and the crew being reduced to half-allowance, they were relieved by a very heavy rain, of which they saved some hogsheds; and tho' it was extremely bitter, it was a great refreshment.

C H A P. XI.

Raleigh arrives at Caliana, and writes home an account of the sickness of his people : his ships in danger of being lost : an incursion in search of a gold mine to no purpose : young Raleigh is killed : sir Walter obliged to return home, where he is misrepresented, betrayed by sir Lewis Stuckley, called down to his former sentence, and beheaded.

ON the 11th of November they arrived, in this sickly condition, off Cape Wiapoco, where Raleigh hoped to have been assisted by his old servant Leonard, an Indian that had lived with him in England three or four years; but not finding him readily, they stood away for Caliana, which is in five degrees on the coast of Guiana: here he went on shore and pitched a tent, but did not venture to taste any pines till he had been a day or two accustomed to the land air, when he ate some armadilla, pork, &c. and was attended by his Indian servant Harry, together with some caciques, who brought him cassavi bread, plantains, pistacias, roasted mullets, pines, &c. In this place he landed his sick men, who by the air and refreshments soon recovered, very few dying, among which few was captain Hastings, brother to Lord Huntington.

Raleigh here wrote a long letter to his wife, which was sent home by captain Peter Alley, who, on account of a vertigo that violently afflicted him, had leave given him to depart in a Dutch vessel that lay in the road. In this letter he observed, That he had lost forty two men by sickness; but the air of Guiana strengthened daily those that survived, amounting to two hundred brave fellows. And he concludes with telling her, No-

thing can exceed the humanity of the Indians, and their readiness to serve him; his good behaviour among them before being so strongly impressed upon them, that they solicited him to abide among them, and he should reign over them as their sovereign prince.

Having cleansed the ship thoroughly, prepared his barges and shallops, refreshed his men as well as he could, and stocked himself with wood, water, &c. he left this river the 4th of December, and next day they were all near being lost, by running a-ground on the shoals off the Triangle Islands, from which they were twenty four hours in getting off.

Sir Walter Raleigh still continuing ill, being so weak that he was carried about in a chair, therefore unable to go upon any laborious expedition, resolved to remain with five of his greatest ships at Punta de Gallo in the Island of Trinidad, while the rest of them, commanded by captain Keymis, his son, and a few other gentlemen, with five or six companies of foot, should proceed up the river Oronoko, with a month's provision, in search of the mine already mentioned; between which and the ships he directed that the men who were to go on shore should encamp, until the depth and breadth of the mine was found out. At the same time he desired they would be careful of landing, in case they found the Spaniards very strong, as a repulse from them would reflect a dishonour on the nation, to which he would not wish to contribute: and his instructions concluded with observing, that if they did not find the mine well worth working, they need bring thence only a small quantity of the ore, to convince the king that it was not a child of his own fancy.

Dispositions being thus made, Keymis and young Raleigh set forward for the mine on the 10th of December, and soon reached a Spanish town,

consisting of one hundred and forty houses newly built, upon the main channel of the Oronoko, between which and the mine they, in a short time after their arrival, pitched their tents, whereby their vessels were left exposed to the enemy, who made a sally upon them in the night, and surpris'd them in such a manner, that they had been all cut to pieces, had not young Raleigh and some other captains rallied them when they were near flying, and brought them back to the fight, with such success, that they drove the Spaniards back, and came to the town-gate at their heels, where the fight was vigorously renewed by the governor, Don Diego Palameca, and some other Spanish leaders: one of these fell by the hand of young Raleigh, who pressing forward upon another with more rashness than discretion, and being far a-head of his men, was first shot, and afterwards killed dead by the blow of a musket. The Spaniard who slew him was run thro' the body with a halbert by serjeant John Plessington; and the fight continued very hot at the entrance of the town, till the governor, fainting under his wounds, was trampled to death; on which, his men dispersed, some of whom however secured themselves in the market-place, and the English finding it not easy to dislodge them, fired the town, a circumstance which forced them to fly to the mountains.

Keymis having secured some papers, a small quantity of treasure, and a few curious things, that had belonged to the governor, now determined to make an attempt upon the mine; but, the passes were too well defended for him to succeed: for in his way he fell into an ambuscade, whereby two of his people were killed and six others wounded, amongst whom was captain Thornhurst, who languished for three months after in great torture.

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This surprise, and some other disappointments, discouraged Keymis so much, that notwithstanding there were some offers made of pointing him out other gold mines, he chose to make his way back to the ships, to which step he was in some measure obliged by the murmuring of the majority of his men: but his conduct was so very disagreeable to sir Walter Raleigh, that he reprimanded him very severely; on which Keymis retired in discontent to a cabin; and a pistol soon after going off, Raleigh called out to know the occasion of it, and Keymis answered, Nothing, but a pistol that he had let off on account of its being long charged. In about an half hour after, his boy found him lying dead, weltering in blood, with the pistol and a long knife near him; it appearing on examination, that he had endeavoured first to shoot himself, but the pistol-bullet having been small, had only cracked one of his ribs; so that effectually to dispatch himself, he had thrust the knife thro' his left pap. This accident happened about the end of February, 1618.

As matters wore but a very indifferent face, Raleigh called a council of his officers, whose opinion was, that they ought to retire to Newfoundland, to refit and refresh; but, many of his men mutinying on the way, he was obliged to ship them homewards with his cousin Herbert at the island of St. Kitts.

When he arrived at Newfoundland, there were great disturbances on board his own ship, which not being able to quell, he endeavoured to assuage by joining with the stronger party; which, tho' it was against his inclination, declared for returning to England, and even this circumstance had like to have cost him his life.

About the end of July he arrived at Plymouth, where he found the king had published a proclamation, requiring him and his people to appear before

fore the privy-council, to answer “ For having
“ burnt the town of St. Thomas, and committed
“ many hostilities against the laws of nations, up-
“ on the territories of the king of Spain, actions
“ very detestable to his majesty, and which he ne-
“ ver could think of countenancing.”

From these and many other motives he was easily informed that his actions had been much misrepresented, and painted in colours as black as they were false: nevertheless, he resolved to surrender himself; and having rested a short time, set forward from Plymouth to London, but had not travelled above twenty miles when he was met by sir Lewis Stuckley, vice-admiral of Devon, who had orders to arrest him; with whom he went back to Plymouth, until a formal warrant came down, requiring him to be brought prisoner up to London. During the time that he remained in custody in that town, he ordered one captain King to retain a bark in which he might escape out of the kingdom; but he was so strangely insatuated that he did not pursue his resolution, tho’ he might have easily done it; and it was plain, that such was the enmity of the Spanish minister and his faction against him, and their prevalence at court, that his destruction was unavoidable.

After sir Walter arrived in London, he was committed prisoner to his own house, where, relying upon the pretended friendship of Stuckley, to whom he had given considerable presents in rubies and diamonds, he privately solicited the recommendation of the French ambassador to his master’s court, intending to retire thither with the first favourable opportunity, and had appointed a vessel to wait for him at Gravesend; but in going thither, in the night, he found too late that he was betrayed; for, as he came near Greenwich, he saw he was beset by some of the king’s barges, on which he
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made to land, and they followed him; some of their crew going on shore, to whom he was delivered by Stuckley, who arrested him in the king's name as they came up, at the same time hinting to him, that it was out of respect to his safety; "For, said he, if I concur in securing you, or at least seem to do so, now that it is plain we are discovered, you will be still left under my care, and another opportunity may be found of escaping." But sir Walter now perceived his craft and falshood, and answered, "Sir Lewis, these things will not turn out to your credit." Raleigh's words proved true; for Stuckley had privately leagued with his enemies, to insinuate himself into Raleigh's good graces, whereby he enriched himself at the unfortunate gentleman's expence, and made himself friends with the ministry, by irritating him to do something which might subject him to the power of the law; for which conduct he was universally despised by every honest man, by every friend to virtue, and the glory of England. Nor was it long before he received the reward of his perfidy; for he was, soon after sir Walter's death, condemned to be hanged for clipping the very gold he had received for betraying him, and purchased his pardon of some of king James's favourites at the expence of every half-penny he was worth in the world; after which escape he withdrew to the island of Lundy, where he died raving mad, and in extreme poverty.

On the 28th of October, 1618, sir Walter Raleigh was brought from the tower to the court of king's bench, by habeas corpus, and the record of his sentence being examined, he was ordered to the gate-house, thence to be brought down to execution on the following day. Accordingly he was beheaded the ensuing morning, opposite to the parliament-house in Old Palace-yard, aged sixty-six years; and, tho' he had been long indisposed, he

made a nervous speech, being a proper justification of himself from the aspersions of the world, and behaved with great chearfulness on the scaffold; observing, as he handled the executioner's ax, That it was a sharp medicine, but a sound cure for all woes. His body was buried in St. Margaret's church near the altar; but his head was preserved many years in a case by his widow, and afterwards by his son, with whom it is said to have been buried at West Horsey in Surry.

Nothing more plainly proves that he fell a victim to Spanish malevolence, than a letter which King James himself wrote to the ministry at Madrid some short time after his execution, wherein he observes, That they can now have no excuse for acting with insincerity, since to them he had sacrificed sir Walter Raleigh, one of the ablest men that ever was in his service. Nay, he goes farther, and says, Had he preserved him, he would have given his subjects great satisfaction, and had as useful a man to command as served any prince in the whole Christian world.

fnow. The inhabitants feed on carrion, and ornament their necks with sheep-guts; rubbing their heads, the hair of which is curled like the blacks, with greafe and dirt, by way of powder and pomatum. They cover themselves with skins, wearing next their body the fleshy side in summer, and the hairy side in winter: they are perfect brutes, having no notion of a deity, nor any form of religion; the air and water here are both wholesome. They have cows, antelopes, baboons, pheasants, partridges, larks, ducks, wild geese, &c. and whales and seal are sometimes caught in the bay: the table mountain of the cape, which is well known, is 3951 yards high, in latitude 34 degrees and some odd minutes.

July the 22d he made the Commorra Islands, which are five in number, lying between ten and fourteen degrees south latitude; of these Joanna is the chief, being about thirty miles long, and fifteen broad. In it resided an old woman, who was sultanness of them all; and four boats were sent on shore to the island of Molalia, off which sir Thomas lay, to the governor, who was the lady's son and her deputy, to desire liberty to trade; for so very absolute was he, that the people dared not to barter even a coco-shell, without his permission.

Captain Newport was sent on this errand with forty men, who found the governor sitting on a mat, under a junk that was building, with a checquer-worked cap on his head, a blue and red callico mantle on his shoulders, reaching down to his knees, and his legs and feet bare; when they presented him with a gun and a sword, he gave them four cows, and full liberty to trade: he entertained him with coco, while he himself chewed betel, tempered with calcined oyster-shells, and arec, a sort of nut of a bitterish taste, that pro-
vokes



vokes spitting, cools the head, and fastens the teeth, which in process of time it colours red, as it also does the spittle; and this is reckoned a great beauty; but it makes those giddy who are not used to it.

From that of the governor's they were conducted to the house of a carpenter, a man of great authority in the town; it was built of stone, cemented with white lime; the outside was wattled with cane, and the roof covered with rafters, over which were spread leaves of the coco-tree. At dinner, every man was first served with water, in a coco-nut, which he poured into a wooden platter, and washed; wiping himself with a towel made of the coco-rind; after which ablution, they were entertained with roasted plantains, served up with boiled rice, pieces of broiled kid, and quarters of hen: their bread was the coco-pith, mixed with honey and fried, and their drink coco-milk and palmito-wine.

The people are very neat in their houses, which are but poorly furnished; and take great care of their gardens, which are mostly composed of tobacco and plantains, enclosed with cane. Many of them speak and write Arabic; nor are they strangers to the Portuguese tongue: they are strict Mahometans, and so very jealous, that they shut up all their women at the approach of strangers. Here, in exchange for linens of all sorts, sword-blades, glasses and knives, the islanders bartered fat cows, good oxen, hens, coco, sheep from Arabia, and plenty of limes. Here they have junks of a pretty large size, built, rigged, caulked, &c. out of the coco-tree.

August the 2d they left this place, and steered for the bay of Delicia in the island of Socotora, at the mouth of the Red-Sea, where they came to anchor on the 24th. Socotora lies in fourteen degrees

grees north latitude; it was at this time governed by Amar Ben Seid, son to the king of Fortaque in Arabia Felix; he is very absolute, and no traffic can be carried on without his permission. He came down to the sea-side to receive the ambassador, on horseback, dressed in the Arabian manner, bare-footed, but his head covered with an handsome turban; he was accompanied by three of his principal officers, one on a camel, the two others on horseback, and attended by a good guard of soldiers, all armed with swords; besides which, some of them had pistols, others muskets, and others Turkish bows: he was escorted by one trumpet, and two or three kettle drums; and he seemed to be much in favour with the people, for they thronged round him, shouting and hallooing all the way.

In this island, sir Thomas observes, that they made use of a liquor which was very black, and drank it hot: it is very likely that this was coffee, a beverage that was not then known among us. The town which the king inhabited was built of stone and lime; the houses flat-roofed, and the lower part of that wherein he himself resided was divided into warehouses for goods, and a wardrobe; in which were some changes of cloaths, and about twenty-five books, treating of law, history, or the lives of their saints. In the upper parts of the house were his three wives; but no body were allowed to see them, tho' the women of a lower rank shewed themselves publicly enough, having silver rings in their ears.

Socotora is a hilly barren soil, producing scarcely any thing but dates, rice, and oranges. Here are goats, sheep, and oxen: there are some good topazes found in this place; but the principal commodity is aloes, being the juice of a mealy plant boiled to a consistency, and laid up to dry; it is a drug well known at this time to all our physical people,

of such extreme bitterness that it has been called *fel naturæ* : there is also a little dragon's blood, indigo and civet ; but these are in the hands of the king. The religion is that of Mahomet ; and the people kneel every night to the sun, while the priests sprinkle water on their foreheads : they hold their saints in great veneration, the principal of whom lies buried in the chief town, and they say he always appears to warn them of danger : they attribute the high winds to his being abroad. The inhabitants are of four different sorts ; those which it is probable are the most antient, are a savage race, that feed on roots, ride the buffaloe, and avoid all conversation with others : they have long hair, are very lean, and neither have garments to cover, nor houses to shelter them ; nor do they seem much superior in intellects to brutes. The next to these are the Jacobine Christians, who live retired in the mountains, to which they have been driven by the Arabs, who are the third sort of inhabitants, and came in by conquest ; these are the people of property ; but they stand in vast awe of the king, not daring to speak in his presence without leave. The fourth are a sort of slaves, who make up the aloes, and do all the menial work of the islanders.

C H A P. II.

Sir Thomas Rowe arrives at Surat ; is ill used by the governor ; proceeds on his way to the Mogul's court by land ; in danger of robbers : very bad houses in Brampore : has an audience of the king, who gets drunk ; arrives at Cytor, where the ruins are magnificent ; is graciously received by the great Mogul : customs of his court : the Norose described.

AUGUST 31st they weighed anchor from the bay of Delicia, and made Surat the 26th of the following month, where the ambassador went on shore, and staid to refresh himself till the 30th of October ; the governor behaving very rudely in searching his servants and baggage, and not scrupling to filch several things from them. On the 1st of November he pursued his journey by land to the court of the Great Mogul ; and on the 6th arrived at the city of Nunderpar, in the kingdom of Brampore, subject to the Mogul, where they had good bread, being the first they tasted since they left Surat ; here they saw large droves of bullocks, which are very plenty all over the country, the Banians not permitting them to be killed.

On the 10th he encamped withoutside the walls of the town of Chapre, where he was guarded by a party of the king of Brampore's foldiers, to protect him from the mountain robbers ; and on the 14th he came to Brathapore, a village within two miles of Brampore, where he was met by an officer of the household, who conducted him to the seraglio appointed for his reception ; but the quarters being very bad, containing only four apartments, each very small, rounded like an oven, and built of brick, the ambassador chose to repose in
his

his tent, and this was one of the best houses in the town; the rest, except those of a few great men, being no better than mud-walls.

The following day he had an audience of the king, who was seated on a stage, with curious carpeting under his feet, and a rich canopy over his head; the nobility stood round, according to their ranks, with their hands before their eyes: sir Thomas was not permitted to sit in his presence, but ordered into an adjoining room, where he was told the king would allow him that liberty, and converse with him a little; but his majesty forgot the appointment, getting very drunk with some cordials that the ambassador had given him among other presents. Here Sir Thomas was taken ill; yet he left the place on the 27th of November, and came, by the 18th of December, to an old ruined city called Cytor, entirely uninhabited, which, from its magnificent remains, appears to have formerly been a place of great splendor. On the 23d of December he arrived at Ardsimere, the residence of the Great Mogul, by whom he was admitted to an audience on the 10th of January, in a place called the Durbar: being conducted to a rail, where having made a low bow, he was admitted to pass it, and so proceeded, with the same ceremony, to a second, just under the monarch, who was seated in a little sort of gallery, elegantly adorned with velvets and silks, and covered by a rich canopy. Immediately under this balcony, within the second rail, were the ambassadors and principal nobility; and within the first the gentry and people of inferior rank; and on the outside of all was a promiscuous crowd of common people.

He received the ambassador in a very gracious manner, and dispensed with his performing the ceremonies of his court, out of respect to his commission, being satisfied with his bowing after the
English

English manner. In this place he sits once a day constantly to distribute his orders, receive petitions, grant audiences, and receive presents; and to this conduct the people are so used, that if they were to be kept one day without seeing him, and not told the reason of his absence, they would be very apt to mutiny: nor will any excuse be accepted two days together; for, on the second day, four people must be admitted to see him, as a deputation from the main body, who may, from ocular demonstration, ascertain to their brethren the truth of his being necessitated to a confinement. In the morning he generally appears at a window, having a prospect over a large plain before the palace, by way of shewing himself, where he is again at noon to see the wild beasts fight, and elephants exercise; after which amusement he retires to his women, who are kept very close, none but the eunuchs who guard being admitted to see them. After supper, which is generally at eight in the evening, he descends to a spacious court, where he converses freely with such of his nobility as he appoints for that evening; they not presuming, nor indeed daring to come without being ordered. No public business, of what nature soever, is transacted any where but here, and at the durbar, and every thing is registred in an office, which any subject has a right to search for two shillings; so that the meanest mechanic is, by these means, as well acquainted with the royal resolutions as the first minister.

On the 1st of March the ambassador rode out to see a pleasure-house of the Mogul, the foundation of which is laid between two rocks, that shade it entirely from the sun, and spread around a gloominess that to the melancholy bosom communicates a heart-felt pleasure. The rocks about it are plentifully

fully stored with wild peacocks, turtles, fowls and monkeys.

The eighteen days feast, in honour of the new year, which is called the Norose, and used to be kept only nine days, beginning with the first new moon, was celebrated on the 11th of March with vast grandeur, in the durbar, where a square throne of wood, inlaid with mother of pearl, was erected, four feet from the ground, covered by a canopy, over which hung a netting all of pearls, ornamented at certain distances with golden apples and other fruits, and it was supported by cane pillars covered with the same stuff: in the area, appointed for the reception of the nobility, were spread the richest Persian carpets which could be bought; and a little to the right of the throne, appeared some few of the great men who were in waiting, before whom was a rail all round the durbar. The chief persons of the Mogul's dominions had pitched little tents, lined with velvet, damasks, taffaty, or cloth of gold, wherein they displayed great wealth, and whence they advanced to pay their duty, and make presents to the sovereign, who formerly used to walk from tent to tent for them; but now he sits in the throne above described, on a cushion inlaid with pearls, diamonds, &c. and thither they are brought and laid at his feet, the treasure he then receives being almost incredible.

March the 12th the ambassador had another audience, and delivered some presents; at the same time, the son of Nama, a prince newly become tributary, was introduced to the presence, and manifested his respect by touching the ground with his head. On the 13th sir Thomas had a second audience, in order to settle the ratification of the peace with England, and to register the articles of commerce. On the 15th he assisted at the diversions of the Norose, on the rising of the throne, and
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the Mogul's right-hand ; the young prince and the new tributary took their stations on the other side, and hence there was a view of all that was done.

On the 23d the Mogul presented a slave to the ambassador, in the person of a very handsome young fellow accused, but not fully convicted of felony: the ambassador accepted him, signifying he would use him according to his behaviour, and keep him in quality of a servant, the laws of England not allowing men to enslave each other.

March the 26th, Asaph Chan, the king's favourite and prime minister, had orders to examine the articles of commerce, which sir Thomas had prepared on the part of the English; the chief of which were, that the subjects of England should have a free trade to all the Mogul's ports, both for exports and imports; that the goods of an English subject, dying in India, should not be confiscated; and many others, most of them illustrations and confirmations of these. The same day, the ambassador being at Guzalcan, received directions from Asaph Chan to rank among the nobility for the future, and not take up a place on the right-hand of the throne, where he was remarkable by being alone: after some dispute he submitted, and at the next audience ranked on the same side with the prince, who being persuaded thereto by Asaph Chan, complained of it to the Mogul; but he having examined the ambassador's reasons, approved of his resolution, and ordered him to keep that station, as properest to his rank and quality.

March 31st, Asaph Chan made an entertainment for the Mogul, which cost him upwards of sixty thousand pounds; all the way which the Mogul went was spread with rich carpets, tacked together, which were rolled up behind him as he passed, for more than an English mile. July 18th, one
of

of the Mogul's nephews was sent to prison for refusing to stroak a lion ; and one of his sons immediately did it : tho' this was made a plea for his confinement, most people believed the true reason was, his having lately professed himself a Christian, to which change he was persuaded, being a weak youth, by some who wished to remove him from the presence. June 25th, Moereb Chan, who was a man of great power, but head of a faction that opposed Afaph Chan, solicited the ambassador's friendship ; who very politically kept fair, but avoided all close connections with him : he was certainly a man of sense, and knowing in commercial matters ; he advised that the English should rather import little curiosities from China and Japan, gold tissue and tapestry, than cloth and ordinary swords, their usual commodities. His excellency afterwards commenced an acquaintance with, and visited Abdalla Hassan, treasurer of the army, and commander in chief of the Mogul's guards ; he was a civil man, who made but few compliments, discoursed very rationally on military affairs, and exercised his soldiers, who were good marksmen both with the bow and gun, for the entertainment of the ambassador.

C H A P. III.

The ingenuity of the Mogul's painters : that prince's fondness for wine : an odd custom at court : an eunuch punished for intriguing, together with the lady : a settlement promised : the English at Brampore : a character of the person who offers it : punishment inflicted on thieves : the vast income of the viceroy of Catan, whom sir Thomas visits.

MOST of the month of July was consumed in soliciting a settlement of the articles ; however, on the 13th sir Thomas waited upon the Mogul, who received him with great cordiality at the durbar ; and having heard that there was an English painter in his train, he desired to see him : this was one Mr. Hughes a good draughtsman, but no great proficient in painting, who accordingly waited on, and had a good deal of discourse with his majesty. Soon after, the ambassador gave him a very excellent picture, a present with which he was much pleased ; and this being seen by one of his best painters, he pretended to be able to make a copy that could not be distinguished from it. Asaph Chan offered to wager a horse with the ambassador, in support of his abilities, and was taken up ; but he afterwards declined it : however, a few days after, the Mogul produced six pictures together by candle light, five of which were copies, and so exactly done, that it was not without some difficulty the ambassador could point out the original. The Mogul appeared to be vastly pleased that his artists should have performed so very well, and promised his excellency his own pourtrait : then sat down to drink alicant, giving glasses to several of his attendants, saying, It was too good to be

be kept; besides, he feared it would grow sour before he could drink it: and he continued tipping and chatting till he fell fast asleep, when without any respect of persons, the candles were suddenly extinguished, and the ambassador left to find his way out in the dark.

The same day, an eunuch being abed with a female attendant belonging to the favourite Sultana, was surprized in the fact and stabbed by one of his brethren, by which means the affair was made public; the eunuch was thrown to the elephants, and she was condemned to be left three days and two nights buried up to the arm-pits in the earth, without any manner of sustenance, and entirely exposed to all the inconveniencies of the hot sun, which, if she survived, she was to be pardoned; this lady was worth one million six hundred thousand roupies.

July the 22d, the ambassador received letters from Mahomet Chan, who presided at Brampore, and scorned a mean action, setting forth, that he would give the English a factory at Boroche, and free liberty of trade, without hinderance or molestation.

Mahomet was a man of integrity, above being guilty of the little pitiful extortions of other governors, and not only a favourite with the Mogul, but beloved by every body who had any dealings with him: a settlement under him was of great advantage to the English trading to India, because it was a good retreat, in case they should be driven, by any sinister accident, out of Surat.

August the 9th, a hundred thieves were brought chained before the Mogul, who having perused their accusations, ordered the chief of them to be torn in pieces by dogs, and the rest to be put to death; a sentence which was immediately executed without farther process, they being divided into different

bands, in the several streets of the town; where while the dogs made an end of their leaders, the hands and feet of the rest were tied together, and their heads cut almost off with a sword, after which operation, they were left, by way of intimidation, in the most public places, where they remained, intolerably offensive to the smell, as well as horrid to the view.

The 10th, 11th, and 12th, the ambassador endeavoured to make the Mogul jealous of the designs of the Dutch, who had sent a ship into those seas, which then lay off Surat, waiting the arrival of a fleet, that was hourly expected; on the 12th, he also visited by invitation Gemaldin Uffin, viceroy of Pantan, about seventy years old; he was a person of great sagacity, affable and polite, a respector of Jesus Christ; extremely well acquainted with the political state of his master's dominions, and author of a history of his own times; a copy of which, Sir Thomas tells us, he offered him, but we don't find that he accepted it: the Mogul allowed him one thousand roupies a day, together with pay for five thousand horse, of which he kept only fifteen hundred on foot; and tho' this is certainly a considerable income, some of the Mogul's governors had double that allowance; and great numbers were on an equal footing with himself.

A few days after, this nobleman entertained his excellency at Havar Gemel, a pleasure house and garden belonging to the king, which he borrowed for that purpose; he received him in a tent, pitched by the side of a very fine pond, with two of his sons, he having thirty in all, attended by a hundred servants; here he shewed in the king's closets and drawing room, some antiques, and a few pieces of painting, presents from the French king, and some other European princes.

Gemaldin

Gemaldin Uffin said, he hoped his excellency would accept in good part such a slight repast as a poor man was able to give; who was solicitous of his friendship, and had invited him to eat bread and salt with him, as a seal of friendship, which he hoped was not disagreeable; at the same time, he advised the ambassador to cause one of his own people, who might be used as an interpreter, to be taught the Persian language; for, those who made a trade of interpreting were in general false and deceitful, and of great disadvantage to their employers, being generally in fee with some great man about court, according to whose directions they explained whatever addresses were made to the king; by which means foreign affairs were often very much retarded. He assured him, that, in such a case, he might soon obtain the grant which he solicited from the Great Mogul; who had a vast friendship for him, upon which account he might be persuaded of the esteem of all the nobility, particularly as his majesty had, the preceding night, selected from among his curiosities his own portrait finely done, and delivered it to Asaph Chan, in order that he might present it to his excellency.

After this discourse, dinner was served up in two different courses, one of which was set down before the ambassador and his train, the other before Gemaldin and his people; because their law forbids their eating with Christians. However, the ambassador having reminded him that he had promised to eat bread and salt with him; he sat down with him, and ate raisins, almonds, pistachoes, and other fruit. After dinner they played at chess, and when the ambassador would have taken his leave, his host prevented him, saying this was but a slight collation, and entreating him to stay supper, which was the principal entertainment where-

to he had invited him. In the mean time, he introduced him to the king of Decan's ambassador, to whom he paid not near so much respect.

The supper was soon after served up, and consisted of meats of various kinds boiled, fried and roasted; rice dressed after different fashions, and good fallads: however, Gemaldin supped with his other guests, apart from the ambassador; who was vastly pleased with his entertainment, and to whom, at his departure, were presented five cases of sugar-candy dressed with musk; and a loaf of the finest, whitest sugar, weighing fifty pound, which his excellency at first refused, but Gemaldin insisted on his taking not only them, but also told him that a hundred other loaves of the same sort were ready for his acceptance; which that he might not refuse, he assured him, he had them from his government, by way of tribute, and they cost him nothing.

On the 17th Sir Thomas had an audience of the Mogul, at which Asaph Chan was ordered to deliver him his majesty's picture; for which some of the courtiers insisted he should return thanks after their manner, a proposal that he flatly rejected; and the Mogul himself cried out, that his making such an acknowledgment as was usual in England was sufficient: on which it was put round his neck, then having taken off his hat, and been led right before the regal throne, he made a low bow, and retired. This picture was appended to a slight chain of gold wire, with one pearl hanging from it, of but an indifferent kind; and tho' scarcely worth thirty pounds, was one of the most valuable presents his majesty had made a great while. It is a mark of great distinction, no body being allowed to wear it but those to whom his majesty himself gives it; and if they chuse to ornament the present, which

which is plain and seldom so large as sixpence, they may.

On the 19th, Gemaldin Uffin being appointed governor of Syndu, visited the ambassador, accompanied by two of his sons and two gentlemen, with a train of a hundred servants; he staid to dine, and eat of some dishes dressed purposely for him by a Moorish cook; however, he privately desired that his excellency would send him four or five sorts of baked meats done after the Christian fashion, which had caught his attention; it was accordingly done, and he ate them at home without witness. At his departure, he invited his excellency to Syndu, assured him of his readiness to do him every good office, and according to custom, accepted some trifling presents.

On the 20th, it being now the rainy season called the Elephant, there was a more heavy shower than had been seen for some years, threatening the whole town with destruction; the inhabitants fled to the hills, and a pond, in the neighbourhood of which stood the ambassador's house, built only of mud walls raised in a low marshy soil, overflowed its boundaries, and broke down one of its banks; so that his dwelling would have certainly been washed from its foundation, and all his goods spoiled, had there not been a channel made by the Mogul's order to divert the course of the flood another way. Thus Sir Thomas tells us, that during his stay in this climate, he had scarcely one happy day; being afflicted either with fires, floods, storms, heat, and cold, having no temperate weather, and every plague in extreme. About this time, the Dutch obtained leave to trade at Surat for a little time, but conditionally that they should be ready to decamp at very short warning. On the 29th, the Mogul went to hunt the wild boar, and killed one of an extraordinary size with

his own hand, which he sent as a present to his excellency; desiring him to eat of it, and be merry, only to let him have the tusks, on account of their bigness. Soon after this occurrence, his excellency understood that the Mogul intended to remove to Munda, a castle not far from Brampore, that he might be near to support his son sultan Corone, who was but ill beloved, in the principal command at Decan, with which he had lately invested him, contrary to the consent and inclination of most of the nobility.

C H A P. IV.

The birth-day of the Mogul celebrated with vast solemnity: the Mogul weighed in a pair of scales: elephants distinguished by rank and quality; the ambassador sent for to court out of his bed: the Mogul drinks with, and makes him a rich present: the meanness of his nobles: the governor of Amadabat comes to court in pilgrim's weeds, and is well received: prince Corone appointed general against the people of Decan, who send ambassadors to court, to divert the storm.

THE Mogul's birth-day being the 2d of September, was celebrated with great magnificence: it was ushered in with his being weighed in a pair of scales against a few jewels, gold, silver, rich stuffs, butter, rice, fruits, and other things, which were afterwards distributed among the bramins or priests; the Mogul had given particular orders for Sir Thomas to be invited, but by a mistake of Asaph Chan's messenger, he was not admitted till this ceremony was over, at which neglect his majesty was very angry, and publicly chid his favourite for it. There was a very fine show of elephants, which

were

were divided into different tribes, some of them being lord elephants, richly ornamented with gold and silver furniture; and the chief of them, which was wonderfully large, having a breast plate and forehead piece of gold sumptuously studded with rubies and emeralds: each of these had several flags and curious streamers waving round them, and was attended by eight or ten other elephants covered with gold and silver tissue; they all bowed as they passed before the Mogul; and the keeper of each made some presents, this being a principal part of the diversion of the day.

About ten o'clock the same night, the ambassador being abed, received an invitation from the Mogul, who desired to see him instantly, and a very curious picture that he had; which his majesty promised to get copied: the ambassador arose and followed the messenger to court, where he found the Mogul sitting cross-legged on a throne, finely set off with all sorts of jewels, in a most magnificent dress: before him was a gold table; on which were laid several curiosities of great value, consisting of gold, silver, &c. adorned with jewels of the most superb lustre; there also stood near him several flaggons of wines of different sorts, which he shared among his nobility in waiting, who made a most splendid appearance, and drank pretty freely.

The ambassador brought with him two pictures, and one of them which represented a very beautiful woman, and was highly finished, the Mogul seemed very desirous of having; while the ambassador, who regarded it much, because of the lady it represented, was loth to part with it; but at length seeing that his majesty coveted it so much, he consented to make him an offering of it, which the Mogul thankfully received; and assured him, that he could scarcely believe it was ever drawn

from the life, but the effect of some brilliant fancy, for he had never seen any woman who could be set in competition with it; and on the ambassador's answering upon his honour, that a friend of his sat for it, whom he sincerely esteemed, the Mogul replied that he would get five copies of it, and if among them he could select the original when intermixed, he should have it again.

After this discourse, he observed to his excellency that it was his birth-day, on which all his friends and subjects made merry; desiring to know whether he would drink with him: and the ambassador accommodating himself in every thing to his desires, having first drank himself, he sent him a golden cup of about twenty ounces weight, richly adorned with rubies and turquoises, as was also the cover of it, and a dish whereon it was set, all of curious workmanship; it was full of very strong wine, which took away his excellency's breath and made him sneeze, whereat the Mogul laughed, but told him he was at liberty to drink just what he pleased. He ordered him at the same time to send the cup, dish, and cover, to his own home, as a mark of esteem; for which his excellency thanked him after the English fashion, nor would he touch the ground with his head, tho' urged thereto by Afaph Chan. Then raisins, almonds, and sliced lemons, were presented to him on a gold plate; and his majesty inquired whether he had been merry over the boar, how he had dressed it, and what he had drank with it.

He afterwards threw a number of new roupies among the people below, and scattered about the throne some pieces of gold and silver shaped like almonds; for which all the noblemen in waiting scrambled, except he who had been lately king of Candabar, Afaph Chan, the Mogul's son, two other old gentlemen, and the ambassador: after this diversion,

version, he distributed golden sashes and girdles among his writers and musicians; and having thus divided his time between toying and drinking, being now near drunk, he fell fast asleep, whereupon every one departed, the feast being ended.

For six or seven months, all Sir Thomas's time was engrossed in soliciting the great seal to be put to the articles he had drawn up, and presented, for the regulation of commerce, but ineffectually; for Asaph Chan, on whom he principally relied, only dallied with him; wherefore he applied to the prince, from whose secretary he received an order relative to the affairs of the company, that was very satisfactory; and where any of the articles admitted an explanation in the least ambiguous, they were clearly stated in a letter to the governor of Surat.

About this time, Abdala Chan, governor of Amadubat came to court to answer some accusations of his having despised, in many instances, the king's authority: he was one of the greatest men in all India, and it was, at first, thought he would have declined answering them; but sultan Corone had induced him to it, by promising to stand by him, and he kept his word; for he was ambitious of securing to himself the friendship of so important a personage. He had travelled in pilgrim's weeds sixty miles on foot, to shew his humility; however, he had two thousand horse attending his motions, one day's journey behind him.

On the 10th of October, he was brought fettered to the Jarucho, where the Mogul hears complaints, and views the public sports; his turban had been, for some time, pulled over his eyes, that his majesty's might be the first face he should see at court; he made the usual reverence in the most suppliant manner, as soon as he appeared in the presence; and after a very short examination,

he was assured of his master's forgiveness, his irons were removed, and he was presented with a new vest of gold tissue, and a turban and girdle to match it.

The great general Chan-Channa not having succeeded in the war of Decan, the prince Corone imagining he could procure to himself great honour on that quarter, solicited, and was appointed to that command, which the other refused to surrender, thereby mortifying extremely the ambition of the prince; however, the Mogul, who did not chuse to quarrel with Chan Channa, acquiesced in his refusal, confirming him in his command, and informing one of his kinswomen who was in the seraglio, that he would send him a letter and a vest in token of reconciliation; but she answered, that she was persuaded he would receive neither, for fear of some mischievous design, knowing his majesty had twice before endeavoured to effect his death by poison: this insinuation irritated the Mogul so much, that he again changed his resolution, determined upon sending prince Corone to supersede him, and even to support him in person with an auxiliary army.

This resolution reached the ears of, and gave some uneasiness to Chan-Channa, who, to avert the storm, prevailed on the Decanians, by whom he was well esteemed, to send ambassadors to court, to sue for peace, before the Mogul and the prince set out. They accordingly went thither, with some fine horses richly caparisoned, by way of present; but the Mogul, who was greatly irritated, refused to hear of them, and referred them to his son, at whose inclination he left it to make either peace or war; while the haughty Corone, conceited of his power, and ambitious, even to a proverb, refused all terms, tho' very advantageous ones were offered,

ferred, and declared he would treat no where but in the field.

Although the Mogul was so partial in the cause of Corone, he never designed any other but his eldest son, Corforone, who was kept in prison by the influence of party, for his successor; it is certain that the latter was universally esteemed, and that the former had scarcely any man's love or regard.

CHAP V.

Reason of sultan Corforone's confinement: his life in great danger; but preserved by the fidelity of his keeper, who is at last forced to give him up: several attempts upon his life: he is protected by his father secretly. Four English ships arrive at Surat: peace proposed to the Portuguese at Goa. The Persian ambassador makes a splendid entry into Ardsmere.

FEW histories are pregnant with more matter of entertainment than the reign of Ezbar-Sha, father to him who was Mogul during Sir Thomas Rowe's embassy, nor was even the time of the son's having sat on the throne of India without amusement; but as a recapitulation of such incidents would be unfit for this place, as foreign to the subject in hand, we shall content ourselves with one narration that abounds with interesting particulars, and shews that when the mildness of a sovereign gives too much way to faction, it will push its insolence to the most unjustifiable lengths.

Corforone, who had been once engaged unwillingly in an insurrection against his father, being, as we before observed, universally esteemed, tho' still kept in confinement, by the intrigues of Corone, Normahal, Asaph Chan, and his father

Etiman Doulett, who acted conjunctively for their own mutual support, was never in more danger of his life than at a time when Normahal used all the artifice of which she was mistress, to have him delivered to the care of his brother Corone, who, she affirmed from the ties of kindred, would be very careful of his safety, tho' in reality their intention was to take him off by poison. By these means they would not only have removed a powerful enemy, whose just vengeance they had reason one day to fear, but also clear their way for Corone to mount the throne of India at his father's death: all her subtle arguments were ineffectual; the Mogul paid them very little attention, until being near drunk and weary with being teized, he desired them to do what they would with Corforone, and fell fast asleep.

Upon this permission, Asaph Chan came the same night with a guard to the place of Corforone's confinement, and, in the name of the prince Corone, demanded him of the Rajah Rasboot Annarah, to whose custody the Mogul had committed him; but this honest nobleman answered that, "he had received his prisoner from his majesty, and to him only would he surrender him;" so that their scheme was, for this time, entirely disconcerted: next morning the Rajah waited on his sovereign, who approved of his conduct, bidding him always act in the same manner, in the like case, and he might depend on his protection. After this attempt, Corone's party stirred not for some time in the affair, till he was setting out on his Decan expedition, having detained the ambassadors, till he arrived on the frontiers of that kingdom, where he proposed to give them a categorical answer; being afraid that if Corforone was left, during his absence, in the hands of Annarah, the Mogul and he might be reconciled, and the ruin of their party thereby founded. Corone before his departure, solicited
his

his majesty so vehemently to have the care of him, under pretence that the people of Decan would be the more intimidated by having a prince so very much favoured, sent against them, that Annarah was dismissed from his charge, and Corforone delivered up to Afaph Chan, attended by two hundred horse belonging to Corone.

The consequence of this step was a general murmur; all ranks of people were enraged at the weakness of the Mogul, the ambition of Corone, and the insolence of his partizans: the whole seraglio was in an uproar, and the ladies refused the visit of Normahal, who was sent to appease them; every one looked upon Corforone as already sacrificed, and his hard fate was the topic of general lamentation; which was increased by a report soon after spread about, implying that six of the prince Corone's domestics had endeavoured to enter Corforone's prison in the night, and to murder him; but the porter, not being in the secret, refused to admit them.

Tho' the Mogul had gratified his ambitious son, Corone, with delivering his brother to the care of him and his party, he kept a watchful eye over their conduct, being determined not to countenance the least indignity that might be offered him: and having been informed by his spies, that Afaph Chan had one day rudely pressed upon his privacy, and treated him with some disrespect, he took an opportunity of reprimanding him for it in public with great austerity, telling him, " he had not put his son under his care for his destruction; and tho' he had gratified Corone with the keeping of his brother, it was not because he loved him less;" and he ended his lesson with observing to him, " that if he heard any more of his insolence to Corforone, he should bow his neck beneath his feet, and be
— trampled

“trampled by him into dust.” This seemed to be the prelude of this prince’s release, which happened shortly after.

On the 13th of October, Sir Thomas was honoured by the Mogul, just then returned from the chace, with a wild pig, by way of present; and in the evening he attended his levee, with an account of four English ships being arrived at Surat, and was presently asked what presents they had brought for the court, to which question Sir Thomas could make no direct answer; however, he obtained an order for having every thing that was consigned to him, conveyed to town, without being liable to custom-house duty or search: at the same time, it being requested of his excellency, he promised to procure two gunners for the service of Corone, in the Decan war from the fleet, which in its voyage had fought with and burned a Portuguese ship; whereupon the ambassador proposed articles of peace to the viceroy of Goa, by the hands of a Portuguese jesuit.

The same day prince Corone was visited by Abdalla Chan, attended by twenty musicians, such as drummers, &c. on horseback, fifty persons carrying white streamers, forty targeteers in splendid liveries, and two hundred horsemen well mounted, and gallantly accoutred in velvets and tiffue; his present was a black Arabian horse, its furniture flowered with gold and adorned with jewels; in return, he received the usual gifts, a turban, a vest and a girdle.

The entry of Mahomet Raze Beg, the new Persian ambassador, was made on the 19th of October about noon. He was attended by fifty servants well mounted; their liveries being cloth of gold, with bows, quivers, and targets, very richly ornamented; besides forty men armed with guns, and two hundred foot, who guarded the baggage: he was

7 received



The Persian Ambassador's Entry ^{J. Jefferys sculp}
into Ardsmere.

received without the town by a sort of usher, a man of no consequence, whose business it is to receive strangers, and a hundred elephants gayly ornamented, conducted by music. He was introduced to the presence in the durbar, towards evening, passing thro' all the usual ceremonies, such as prostrating himself on the ground, and touching it with the top of his head. After which he delivered his master's letter, which the Mogul received, inclining his body a little, and asking how his brother did, (meaning the king of Persia) without giving him any other title; after which ceremony, the ambassador was ordered to retire among the seventh rank of the king's attendants, which was but a sorry situation for an ambassador. He was attended by nine led horses in very sumptuous trappings; on his approaching the court, a string of very beautiful pearls, rubies and emeralds, was wound not only about his turban, but also about three golden pipes, wherewith it was ornamented instead of feathers: his presents consisted of twenty seven Persian and Arabian horses, nine large mules, (nine is a sort of sacred number among these people) seven camels laden with velvet, one rich cabinet, forty muskets, five clocks, twenty one camels laden with unadulterated wine just as it had been pressed from the grape; fourteen with distilled sweet waters, seven with rose water, seven daggers nobly adorned with jewels, five swords in the same taste, seven beautiful Venetian glasses, one camel laden with Persian cloth of gold, eight silk carpets, two chests of Persian arras, and two rich suits of Venetian velvet flowered with gold for hangings, &c. In return he was rewarded with a turban, a vest, and a girdle. A jesuit who was present at his reception, and that of the English ambassador, and was well versed in the language of the place, observed, that neither the Mogul's reception of him

was

was so cordial and polite, as his behaviour to Sir Thomas; nor were his expressions of kindness towards the king of Persia near so respectful, as those he had used when the king of England was in the case.

October the 20th, his excellency obtained from the prince an order for having the presents, and whatever else belonged to them, forwarded without molestation from Surat; at the same time his highness taking a liking to a feather which the English ambassador wore in his hat, desired to have it; and tho' the ambassador observed it was unworthy of his acceptance, he would have it, and more of the same nature if they could be got; accordingly, the ensuing day, his excellency sent him several others of various colours.

In the evening the Persian ambassador delivered his presents at the durbar, with vast servility, and played a thousand antic tricks by way of ceremony; seeming in rapture when spoke to by the Mogul.

C H A P. VI.

Drinking, except in certain cases, severely punished in India: thieves sold for slaves: prince Corone departs from court, as does the Great Mogul, after certain superstitious ceremonies: the procession of his equipage described: sultan Corforone is enlarged: the camp and royal quarters very grand: Sir Thomas visits sultan Corforone.

ON the 24th, the Mogul removed to Havar Germal, where the Persian minister ate with the nobility, in his presence; and on the 25th returned to court, where an ugly accident happened, from some persons who mentioned unadvisedly the drunken frolics of the preceding night; and spoke of some of the nobility who had sipped wine pretty

pretty freely, which it is a crime to do without the monarch's leave; and to refuse that leave is also an offence; for which reason every man writes down the officers name by whom he is helped with wine, in order that he may summon him as a witness in his behalf, should it be requisite. The Mogul, who had been drunk, forgetting his own order, inquired of the officer who had administered the liquor, whether it had been by his command; which interrogation being answered by him falsely in the negative, either out of spite to some particular person, or out of fear, a list was made of all who had been concerned in the debauch, some of whom were fined, one, two, or three thousand roupies, according to their fortune; others were so severely whipped with iron rods, that some of them died on the spot; the porters staves being broken over the survivors, they were, thus mangled and abused, spurned from the presence; and when they would have blamed the ambassador, the Mogul would not listen, saying he had ordered him a couple of goblets of wine, but none to them. Tho' the Mogul himself often gets drunk, it is severely forbid by the laws of the land; and no man whose breath smells of wine, (the porters examining every person carefully) is admitted to come before him; nay, if any one of his attendants is discovered to be by such means prevented appearing in the presence when his duty requires it, scarcely any thing will save him from a whipping.

It being near the time of the king's departure, his excellency sent to Asaph Chan for his carriages; the Mogul having ordered him to be enrolled for twenty camels, four carts, and two coaches, wherewith he supplied the English factors; who could not otherwise procure conveniencies for removing their effects to Agra at any rate. On the 28th, some boys being condemned to be sold as
slaves

slaves for theft, two of them were offered to the ambassador, whom he redeemed for ten pounds; this he confesses himself he did to make the Mogul have the better opinion of him, but it don't appear that the monarch was ever made acquainted with his liberality; however, he gave them their liberty, declaring that Christians never made slaves of their fellow creatures, but contributed as much as they could to their happiness.

That same day his excellency sent his compliments to the Persian ambassador, by his secretary, and offered to pay him a visit, provided he would return it; but the Persian answered, it was what he could not do without the permission of his master, which he would solicit, and act according to his instructions; observing that nothing could give him more satisfaction than the acquaintance of Sir Thomas Rowe; which he was persuaded his master would allow him to cultivate.

November the 1st, the Mogul being seated in the durbar, was waited upon by sultan Corone, who came to take his leave; his dress was silver tissue, covered over with orient pearl and brilliant diamonds, that shone like another sun; he was attended by six hundred elephants richly caparisoned, and about a thousand horse very splendidly attired; the Mogul embraced and kissed him very tenderly, giving him at his departure a sword in a golden scabbard set with diamonds, valued at a hundred thousand roupies, a dagger in the same taste said to be worth forty thousand, an elephant and two horses, their furniture covered with gold and jewels, and a new coach made in imitation of that brought from England, in which the prince departed to his tents, which were about four miles distant; the principal nobility walked a foot on each side, and he was drove by the English coachman, into whose hat he put a handful of roupies, perhaps

perhaps a hundred; he was followed by multitudes of people, among whom he scattered small pieces of money.

The 2d being appointed for the Mogul's departure, he appeared in the morning at the Jarucho window, fanned by two eunuchs, with feathers affixed to long poles; there he scattered many favours, and received several presents; what he gave was fixed to a little stick and let down by a silken string, and what was presented to him was pulled up by such another instrument, by the hands of a fat deformed wrinkled old woman, hung round with gewgaws like a pagod. Two of his principal wives having made a hole thro' their grate, in order to gaze at the English ambassador, shewed part of their faces, appearing to have white skins, and very black hair, richly adorned with jewels. After having staid at the Jarucho a good while, the Mogul suddenly disappeared, and as he descended in a short time after to go out, he was stopped by one man with a very unwieldy carp, and another with a dish of some white stuff, in which having dipped his finger and touched the fish, he then rubbed his forehead therewith; and this it seems is a ceremony used to bespeak good fortune.

At the foot of the stairs one of his attendants girded on him his sword and buckler, adorned with rubies and diamonds, and another having furnished him with a bow and quiver of thirty arrows, which had been one of the Persian ambassador's presents, he went into a coach, made so like that given him by Sir Thomas Rowe, that it was only to be distinguished by a Persian coverlid of velvet embroidered with gold. This was the first carriage of the kind he had ever been in, and with him were two eunuchs, whose office was to fan the flies from him with horse-tails fixed on gold staves, set with rubies: he was preceded by
drums,

drums, trumpets, and other music, with many people bearing such ensigns of majesty as are peculiar to the country, and these marched under the most sumptuous and glittering umbrellas.

Then came nine led horses, their furniture variously covered with diamonds, rubies, pearls, and emeralds, after these, three palanquins, or chairs carried on mens shoulders; the carriage and feet of the principal of which were covered with plated gold ornamented with precious stones, and covered with crimson velvet embroidered with pearl, the border of which was set with rubies and emeralds, and a fringe hung from it of very large pearls to the depth of a foot; then followed a footman with a golden footstool adorned with jewels, two palanquins covered and lined with gold tissue; the English coach in which sat queen Normahal to whom it was given; another coach with some of the young princes; twenty royal elephants for the Mogul's own use, most splendidly caparison'd; and his wives followed at the distance of about half a mile behind him, each mounted upon her respective elephant, in a turret with a gold grate for her to peep thro', over each was carried a canopy of silver tissue; of these there were fifty, making the most magnificent appearance.

His majesty's body dress, this day, was cloth of gold without sleeves, with a rich girdle, in which he had tucked a pair of English gloves, his hands being bare; on every finger was seen a ring of great value, and from his wrists all up his arms, he wore rows of diamonds enough to have dazzled an eagle; the feet of his buskins were sharp pointed, turning out, embroidered with pearl; and on his head he wore a very beautiful turban with a plume, consisting of a few long heron feathers; on one side of it was a ruby unset as large as a walnut, on the other a rough diamond of equal magnitude,

magnitude, and in the middle a curious emerald shaped like a heart; he had three rows of extraordinary large pearl about his neck, and his staff of authority was wreathed with pearls, diamonds and rubies, variously and elegantly disposed. As he passed by the door of the house in which his eldest son was detained prisoner, he stopped the coach, and ordered him to be brought forth.

A general satisfaction seemed diffused among the people, as soon as sultan Corforone made his appearance; he had a sword and a buckler, but his beard was grown to his waist, in token of his having been in disgrace: the king ordered him to mount one of his elephants, and ride next to him, to the joy of the multitude, which burst forth in the loudest acclamations; while he scattered money every where around, his father having given him a thousand roupies for that purpose.

And now the way to the Mogul's tents was lined with elephants to the amount of three hundred, every one bearing a turret, in the front of which was a piece of cannon, and behind it sat the gunner holding a ball to charge it with, of the size of those used in tennis play; at each corner of the turret waved a banner of yellow taffety; and the dust along the road was laid by footmen who poured water from leathern bags. Neither man nor horse, except those particularly appointed to attend, were allowed to come within two furlongs of the Mogul's coach.

Sir Thomas Rowe was particularly respected by the Mogul, when he entered his tent; for perceiving his excellency standing amongst the nobility in a line thro' which he passed, his majesty laid his hand on his breast, and inclined his body, whereas to the Persian representative he only nodded. When he had washed in public, he retired, as did each nobleman to his respective tent. The

tents

tents were of different colours, making a most magnificent and beautiful appearance, covering the whole vale, inclosed in the most regular manner; and the baggage so disposed as not to give the least idea of confusion.

The royal tent took up about the space of half an English mile; it was formed like a fort with angles, bulwarks, and curtains of red arras; the gates were supported by brazen pillars, and within was a mother of pearl throne, raised on two pillars of earth, with rich carpetting beneath; a canopy of gold tissue over it, and above all a very high tent, with a golden nob on the pole.

At the distance of five miles from this place was prince Corforone's tent, whither Sir Thomas Rowe went to visit and compliment him, as well as to settle some business relating to certain sums of money due to the English. He was seated on a throne plated with silver and inlaid with gold flowers; over his head was a square canopy supported by four pillars covered with silver, and his sword, buckler, lance, bows and arrows were laid on a table within his reach; his countenance was very equal, not seeming to respect any one person round him more partially than another, but rather to have a contempt, founded upon pride, for all; he read two letters which were given him standing, and by his inattention to some addressees made him, and his unapt answers to others, he was suspected of being in love: perhaps Normahal, who had visited him in the English coach the preceding day with a present of a cloke, covered with rubies, pearls and diamonds, had carried away his heart. On the 9th, being about to remove, he sent for the English ambassador to come to him; and the messenger raved of his highness's kindness to him, and the great favours he intended him; a report which was also confirmed by a Dutchman, who

who was his jeweller : this intimation induced his excellency to take horse and come to him immediately, but after waiting till it was night, the prince passed him, and ordered a servant to tell him he would confer with him in the Guzelcane in about half an hour : notwithstanding which promise, the ambassador waited for him above an hour ; when being out of all patience at such trifling, after leaving a very sharp message with his attendants, his excellency went to take horse ; but before he could reach it, several people were dispatched to bring him back.

As soon as the ambassador appeared, prince Corforone received him very cordially, excused himself for forgetting him, and reprimanded his officers ; he was playing at cards, and compliments past, he shewed his excellency his hand, and advised with him about his game. Soon after, he presented him with a gaudy robe of gold tissue, that he himself had worn some time ; cast cloaths seem an odd present to an ambassador, but, in this country, such a gift is a mark of peculiar favour : after this robe was put on him, and some little business adjusted, his excellency was dismissed from the audience with a low bow ; but he complains in his journal, that he paid double the value of the present in what he gave his highness's attendants, who pressed about him for that purpose most shamefully. I fancy by the warmth with which Sir Thomas speaks of this scandalous practise, it was not then of such prevalence in England as it is now ; for the height to which it has for some time been carried in these kingdoms, is a reflection upon our politeness and manners ; which the attention of our people of fashion ought to be awakened to remove, not only in justice to themselves in particular, but to the nation in general.

C H A P. VII.

Sir Thomas sets out to follow the camp : manner of the Mogul's encampment described : the Mogul's engagements on this route : his great charity and humility : sir Thomas loses his baggage, and the people distressed by bad roads.

ON the 16th, all the huts, which are called Leskars, at Ardsmere, were set on fire to oblige the people to follow the camp, which was now in motion ; and the English and Persian ambassadors not finding it easy, tho' they had warrants to impress them, to get either camels or carts for removing their equipage, were much exposed to thieves, who swarmed about the camp. On the 20th, sir Thomas Rowe finding he could only get, upon the royal mandat, eight camels, so very poor as to be scarcely fit for service, was forced to buy others ; and then he continued his march on the 1st of December : in passing through a place called Ramfor, they saw the bodies of an hundred men exposed naked in the high way, who had been executed for robbing.

On the 6th and 7th the Mogul quartered at Todah, a well-built town, which had formerly belonged to a Raja Rasboot ; it was situated at the foot of a rock, and had had some good works of hewn stone about it : on one side of it was a grove, pleasantly laid out in walks and alleys, planted with mangoes, tamarinds, and various other fruits ; and interspersed with fountains, grottos, summer-houses, alcoves, and little Pagan temples, curiously carved and ornamented ; but it seemed as if it had been neglected ; and tho', under proper regulations, indisputably one of the most charming spots in the world.

The

The camp, which was generally pitched in four hours, presented a scene of prodigious grandeur, as well as order : it engrossed a compass of twenty English miles ; every man, from the first Raja to the poorest artizan knowing in what situation, and at what distance from the sovereign's quarters to pitch his tent ; there being regular streets and shops containing all necessaries ; all which, as well as their owners, were restricted to the distance of musket-shot from him ; nor was any man admitted whose name was not known. The evening was commonly spent in hunting or in hawking, upon pools a mile or two over, in little boats, which were carried in carts for that purpose. The Mogul appeared every morning as at the Jarruco, but did no business till night at the Guzelcan ; and then it was ten to one his majesty did not get drunk, as was the case one evening that Sir Thomas meant to address him upon some important matters ; so that, during this route, business seemed to be but little regarded.

On the 18th of December, his excellency paid the Mogul a visit, and found him just returned from hunting, with variety of game lying before him ; the first choice of which he insisted on the ambassador's making, and distributed the remainder among his noble attendants. Near him, at the foot of his throne, sat an old beggar man, a liberty that the heir to the crown would scarcely have dared to take, with whom his majesty talked very familiarly near an hour, tho' his ashes and frouzy rags would have turned a squeamish stomach ; but charity is strongly enforced by the religion that is here professed. From this wretch his majesty accepted a cake, folded in a rag, kneaded by his dirty hands, the grain very coarse, and mixed with ashes which adhered to it from the fire, on which it had rather been burned than baked ; he broke and

ate a piece of it ; then, wrapping it up in the same clout, put it into the poor man's bosom, and poured an hundred roupies into his lap, some of which falling on the ground, he stooped to gather them up.

A collation being served up, he shared it with the beggar ; and when he was about to quit him, embraced him in his arms, tho' not the most cleanly figure, and called him father, laying his hand three times on his heart. This old beggar was attended by a young patch who shared his good cheer.

On the 23d, the Mogul turned off towards Mandoa, instead of going, as was expected, to the city of Rantepoor ; this route, it was supposed, he took to avoid the plague which was suspected to lurk thereabouts. The 26th the road proved intricate, fatiguing and rugged, lying thro' thick woods, and over craggy mountains, which tired many people, destroyed some camels, delayed the army, and parted others from their baggage, particularly the English ambassador, who lost his tent and servants ; but found them again at night. After this march his majesty rested two days ; for many camels and carriages, with his women and equipage, were delayed on the road, thro' weariness and want of water : the Mogul himself had been obliged to climb over rocks that scarce any one else would have ventured to attempt, mounted on a small elephant that was very sure-footed, as indeed they all are, and travel well.

On the 1st of January, 1615, the English ambassador complained to Asaph Chan of some grievances under which the English laboured at Surat, in some measure countenanced by the prince, whom the minister persuaded his excellency to visit, and to obtain a recommendatory letter from the Mogul to him, relating to the affair of the English ; ob-

serving

serving, that he had as good go from Mandoa, whither it was plain the Mogul bent his course, to Brampore, the prince's residence, as to waste so much time, (it being but eight days journey) in the fields.

At noon, the same day, Sir Thomas Rowe paid a visit to the Persian representative, who received him with great complacency, and assured him he would, to the utmost of his power, promote the settling a commerce between England and Persia. Here his excellency was entertained with a banquet of very indifferent fruit; however, there was something so agreeable in the Persian's manners, that he was easily inclined to overlook the defect: the Persian was very facetious, and railed freely at all the Mogul's court, and the shuffling behaviour of his people; he offered to do Sir Thomas any service he could, and insisted on his accepting a horse well caparisoned; which on the other's strenuously refusing, he would have given him nine pieces of superfine Persian silk, and nine bottles of the richest wine, as marks of his friendship; but his excellency could not be induced to take any of them by any means; but in return made an offer of the sword he wore, which was a very fine one, and had attracted the Persian's eye, who nevertheless refused it, tho' some hours after he recanted, and desired to have the present. At night his excellency visited the Mogul, and found him deeply engaged in serious conversation, and reading over letters with an old crippled gentleman, whom at his departure he very lovingly embraced, and presented with five thousand roupies.

From this period to the 18th nothing material happened, the camp still continuing in motion; but on the 18th they found themselves involved in a very narrow troublesome pass, cut between two mountains, in which they were forced to leave their baggage

and cattle in great distress, and the English ambassador lodged under a tree that night till his tent came up. The country here was full of robbers; nor were the inhabitants any great friends to the Mogul, it having been but lately reduced to his obedience: they fled to the hills, but some of them were brought back, chained together two and two, by the necks. The king, at his departure, ordered the principal town to be burned; and left behind him a nobleman attended by some horse, with orders to rebuild and repeople it better than before; which mixture of severity and generosity he thought might teach them to be more civil for the future: however, some of the fugitives out of revenge followed the camp, at a distance, plundering and killing the stragglers that fell in their way.

On the 22d, the English ambassador standing in sight of a chamber wherein the Mogul was, accompanied only by Etimon Doulet his father-in law, and Afaph Chan, was invited to enter: the Mogul was very merry with him, bidding him draw near, and talk to him without an interpreter; which his excellency made a shift to do, tho' not in the choicest Persian; however, he spoke to make himself understood, and his majesty laugh, tho' their discourse had not much sense or solidity. Favours of this sort made the great men very respectful to him.

C H A P. VIII.

The people of Decan seem resolved to fight, and the prevailing party at court dissuade the Mogul from proceeding against them, but to no purpose: a pleasant story of a king of Calleada: sultan Corone stops the English presents; but they are released by the Mogul, who shews a sense of religion in his liquor: an affront put on the ambassador.

IN the mean time it was found that the army of Decan did not retire as was expected, but waited on their frontiers with fifty thousand horse, determined to fight the Mogul there; for which purpose they had sent off their baggage that they might not be encumbered: and sultan Corone had as yet proceeded no farther than Mandosa, seeming to fear both Chan Channa and the enemy: this circumstance induced Asaph Chan and Normahal to endeavour to persuade their monarch to turn the expedition into a hunting journey; for the monarchs of the east often go to hunt with as much force, grandeur and expence, as they manifest when they march to war; but he despised the subterfuge, declaring he would persist in his first resolution; and for that purpose reinforced his son's army with fresh troops. Water and provisions began now to grow very scanty in camp, a dearth which fell heavy on strangers, the soldiery, and the poor; for the Mogul was insensible of it, and the Chans were supplied by their respective people.

On the 3d of February, Sir Thomas Rowe and the sultan Corforone met by chance under a great tree, whither both happened to retire to avoid the heat, and enjoy the benefit of the shade; he appeared chearful, courteous, and affable, conversed freely, and was surpris'd when told of the Eng-

lish people and an English ambassador, things he had never heard of; whence his ignorance of court matters was very evident.

On the 6th, they encamped at a pleasant place called Calleada, formerly the residence of the kings of Mandoa, of one of whom it is told, that being used to drink excessively, he one night in his cups dropt into the neighbouring river, and would have been drowned but for the fidelity of a slave, who leaping in, caught him by the hair of the head, his strength being just exhausted, and dragged him to the shore. Some time after his recovery, being told who saved him, he called for the slave, and ordered his hands to be chopped off in his presence; saying, it was rather too mild a punishment for the wretch, who dared to lift his hands to the head of his sovereign: but it happened some time after, that sitting in the same place, in the same condition, attended by only one of his wives, he slipped in again, and was really drowned, tho' she might with ease have saved him, an office which she said she chose to decline, lest he should have ordered her hands also to be cut off.

On the 11th, the Mogul rode to Ugan, to converse with a dervise living on a hill near that place, reported to be three hundred years old: the same day Sir Thomas Rowe received advice from Surat, that the presents from thence, which had been brought hither by the shipping, and of which his excellency had been so long in expectation, were stopped on the road by Corone, who hoped to compel the conductors, in vain, to open them; and that he had, at the same time, sent word to his father, that he had delayed some merchant's goods, without mentioning their being presents, of which he craved leave to chuse what he liked. This perfidy incensed his excellency very much; and tho' he

he had some fears of incensing Afaph Chan, with whom he did not chuse to quarrel, he at last determined, without soliciting his introduction, to take his new interpreter, a Greek by birth, and ride out to meet the Mogul on his visit to the der-vise.

He met that monarch, mounted on his elephant, who halted, seeing him make signs to speak, and prevented him, saying, "I suppose you come to complain; but be not uneasy; I guess that the goods my son has stopt belonged to you, and that among them were the presents designed for me; but, be satisfied; he shall not open them: at night I will send him an order to let them proceed on the journey."

His excellency accordingly attended him at night at the Guzelcan, where the Mogul assured him he had already dispatched commands relative to the goods to Corone, in consequence of which he would not dare to meddle with or detain them. But the ambassador insisting on satisfaction for the affront put upon him by detaining them, the Mogul told him positively, he must pardon it, and his son should not do so again; wherefore he was forced to be content, because he could not help himself; and had he said much more, he had perhaps made Afaph Chan his enemy.

After affairs were thus settled, his majesty entered into a familiar dispute with his excellency, concerning the laws of Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, mellowing the argument with old wine; and declaring that his disposition led him to treat with equal mildness Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans, as long as they continued obedient to him, and did not seek to disturb the peace of his dominions. In short, the good man spoke so feelingly of the spirit of religion, and imbibed so cordially the spirit of the wine, that both conjunctively

distilled thro' his eyes; and he wept to think that so few people, out of the many who professed themselves followers of these great prophets, adhered literally to the excellent rules they had laid down: and at last, his majesty breaking his discourse into short sentences, fell fast asleep, and concluded his sermon with a drunken nap.

As his excellency might be pretty certain of having lost all his interest with the prince Corone, by having complained of him, he resolved to endeavour to make the father as much his friend as he possibly could: in the mean time the presents, which the factors had detained at Surat four months longer than they ought to have done, without any reason, being arrived at court, had been privately opened by the Mogul's own order, who had taken out whatever he liked best; the ambassador made a violent complaint of this breach of privilege, whereby all his presents, some of which were designed for the prince, and some for Normahal, besides those intended for his majesty, were jumbled together, and perhaps spoiled; besides, he observed, that it was an insult the king his master could not be easily wrought upon to forgive; nor did he know in what manner to acquaint him with the affront.

The Mogul received him with great condescension, and attended patiently to his complaint; to which he answered, that he would satisfy the king of England, if he thought himself disrespected by this procedure; that it was no more than fair that he should have his choice of the presents; and he was sure the prince and Normahal would think it no dishonour to be served after him; that for his part he liked what he had seen very well; and tho' it was usual never to approach him for audience without a gift, he would hereafter excuse that ceremony in Sir Thomas, and redress his complaints, as well as
give

give him audience and satisfaction, tho' he came empty-handed; concluding his discourse with desiring the ambassador not to be offended with him; and the other remaining silent, when he had finished, he pressed him to speak, and desired to know if he was satisfied: to which question at last he was obliged to answer, He must be satisfied if his majesty was contented.

Among other curiosities there was a picture representing a Venus leading a black satyr by the nose, which seemed to give him some offence, he believing it was intended as a reflection upon the Asiatic attachment to women: he asked several people what they thought of it; but most answered with Sir Thomas Rowe, they believed it to be only the painter's fancy: however, he kept it; and desired Sir Thomas to get him a large horse, a brace of Irish greyhounds, and some couples of other sporting dogs for breed; a request with which he promised to comply, and if they should chance to die on ship board, he said, he would order their skins to be stuffed and brought him, that he might be assured of his respect for his majesty's commands. Then he pressed a grant of certain commercial privileges, together with the payment of a debt, in all which demands he was assured he should be satisfied; and the Mogul designing to know what were the fittest presents for his brother the king of England, the ambassador answered, carpets; on which he promised to procure the most magnificent that could be bought. He afterwards presented Sir Thomas with half a buck, which he had killed himself, and the other was cut into pieces of about four pound weight each, which was intended for his majesty's women, two of whom accordingly came from the seraglio, with his third son, and each carried a piece away dangling in her hand.

Before his excellency was dismissed from his audience, the Mogul entreated him to procure him a bow and quiver, a pair of rich embroidered buskins, and a coat of mail for himself, all done by the most experienced workmen that England could boast, besides a pillow whereon to sleep; and Asaph Chan was ordered to give patterns of what was wanted.

C H A P. IX.

The Mogul and his court enter the city of Mandoa: water very scarce here: the Norose celebrated very solemnly: the Persian ambassador used ill and quits the court: the lion a sacred beast: two Dutch vessels lost: sir Thomas is rudely used by the king of Candabar: great exactness of paying debts at the Mogul's court.

MARCH the 3d they arrived at the city of Mandoa; but the Mogul did not make his entry till the 6th, at a particular hour, said by the astrologers to be a lucky one. The place chosen out by Sir Thomas's servants to encamp in was a house on the top of a rising-ground, in a very good air, well enclosed within stone walls, within which were also a temple and a tomb. There were two inconveniencies in the situation, one was its great distance from the royal quarters, amounting to two miles; and the other, a total want of water: however, a chan, who had taken possession of a well not far from it for his own use, allowed his excellency to draw away four loads of water per day. Water was very scarce all about; the great men had possessed themselves of the springs, which were very few; so that those who had not great interest were obliged to encamp in the open country,

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at three or four leagues distance, a circumstance which caused much confusion, but fell heavily on the poor.

On the 12th of March, it being the festival of the Norose, or New Year, of which we have heretofore taken some notice; Sir Thomas presented the Mogul with two knives, and six curious glasses, in the name of the company, wherewith he seemed extremely well pleased; and at the same time ordered, that whatever debts were owing to the governor should be immediately paid. Over the throne, the magnificence of which we have before noticed, hung the portraits of king James I. and the queen of England, the countess of Somerset, and Salisbury, of Sir Thomas Smith governor of the East-India company, and of the wife of a private citizen of London. When Sir Thomas approached, his majesty ordered him to ascend the steps, and come near him; on his right-hand stood the Persian ambassador, and on the left the king of Candabar; near it was a scaffold whereon some female musicians exercised their talents. The 30th of the same month his excellency presented to Asaph Chan a curious pair of gloves and a night-cap; the latter he kept, and desired a little Spanish wine, which was sent him; but the gloves he returned, as of no use in that country.

Sir Thomas found it a hard task about this time to remove some prejudices which the Mogul had harboured against the English; but with much labour prevailed: at the same time the great men looked upon his excellency with an evil eye, on account of his having complained of the injustice of sultan Corone, each looking upon him as an informer, and fearing his turn might be next; for governments being all farms, the extortions practised by those who hold them are inconceivable.

The 30th of April, the Persian ambassador left the court in a mood of discontent, for which he

had reason; because, having given his majesty thirty very fine horses, he received in return three thousand crowns; which he justly resented, as seeming to set him on the footing of a dealer, and even in that light allowing him much less than the value of his commodities. His dissatisfaction was told to the Mogul, who immediately ordered an account to be drawn out, by way of debtor and creditor, on one side of which were named the Persian gifts, rated infinitely below their intrinsic worth, on the other those presents the Mogul had made in return, not omitting the slightest thing, as a melon or a pine-apple, all valued very highly: this, by order of the court, was laid before the ambassador, and an offer of the balance, which was on his side, tendered to him. Impatient of the indignity, and spurning the account, he feigned himself very ill, that he might not be at the trouble of taking leave of a court wherein his reception had been so very bad, and obtained permission to depart without ceremony. He privately sent a true state of his affairs to Sir Thomas Rowe, by way of excuse for his not taking leave of him, which he could not do without being seen by Afaph Chan, and others who expected the same compliment; and desired the messenger to assure him, he might depend on his doing the best offices he could for the English at his master's court.

On the 12th of May, the English ambassador obtained a grant, authorising him to hunt a lion, which, together with a wolf, had broken into his fold and killed some of his sheep: he dared not to have attempted repelling this invasion, without the royal permission; for it is treason for any man but the sovereign to hunt the lion in this country.

June the 14th, a box of medicines, with a letter, belonging to the Jesuits at Cambay, which had been stopped upon the road, was brought to court;
and

and the Mogul himself, after having curiously and meanly ordered the letter to be read, and examined the box, in which he found nothing for his purpose, commanded them to be restored to the fathers.

On the 30th of July came advice to court, that two Dutch ships laden with spice, china, silks, and other valuable goods, bound for the Red-Sea, had been by severe weather forced upon the coast of Damam, after having vainly endeavoured to make Socotora, or some of the Arabian ports; where, after losing their masts, they were beaten to pieces on a sand bank; however, the largest of them was enabled to save her men and some commodities.

The 21st of August, Marre Rustan king of Candabar visited Sir Thomas Rowe; and tho' he was handsomely entertained, begged a cask of wine before his departure, which was sent to him.

It was now reported that Afaph Chan and Normahal had some notion of allying themselves to sultan Corforone, who had taken a house near the English ambassador: as for sultan Corone, he was a little in disgrace, having wedded a woman at Brampore, whom his father disliked; besides, he was soon expected at court, to defend himself from an accusation preferred against him, of his having had some designs on the life of his brother Corforone.

On the 1st of September, being the Mogul's birthday, there was a pavilion erected in a very elegant garden, not far from a square pond set round with trees; under the pavilion was fixed a pair of large scales of beaten gold, with silken ropes and gold chains curiously set with small rubies and turquoises; in one scale the Mogul himself was seated cross legged, covered from head to foot with jewels, and had about him some rubies as big as walnuts, and pearls still larger; in the opposite scale there
were

were six different bales weighed against him, which were said to contain gold, silks, calicoes, spices, and other rich commodities: and, lastly, he was opposed to honey, corn, and butter; the former of these, it was said, were to be distributed among the poor, and the latter were to be given for provisions to the Banians.

While his majesty was in the scale, he looked pleasantly at Sir Thomas Rowe, and seemed as if he intended to have spoken to him; but he was prevented by the want of an interpreter: it was said he weighed that day equal to nine thousand roupies.

When this ceremony was over, he mounted his throne, round which sat the nobility on carpets, and threw, as before, several basons of silver nuts, almonds, and other artificial fruit among them, for which they scrambled heartily; and he, perceiving that the English ambassador thought it beneath him to stoop to imitate them, poured a bason of silver almonds into his cloak; which he had no sooner done, than the courtiers fell upon his excellency, and almost tore his cloke off his back, endeavouring to share with him in their master's gift; however, he made shift to preserve as much of them as weighed ten or twelve crowns: they were all hollow, and so extremely light, that there must have gone a vast number of them to make the value of one hundred pounds. The Mogul dedicated that night to carousing and drinking with his nobles, to which his excellency was invited; but he declined it, being ill of a flux, and knowing that if he went, nothing would excuse his drinking.

September the 9th, the Mogul riding along the banks of the Darbadat to take the air, in his way passed by the English ambassador's house, who presented him with an Atlas neatly bound, telling him,
that

that he made his majesty an offering of a sketch of all that world of which he possessed so considerable a part. The Mogul received it very kindly, and thanked him by laying his hand upon his breast, as well as by words ; and desired to know whether his excellency liked the fat wild boar of Goa, of which he would send him some, having lately received several : the ambassador replied, that any thing with which he pleased to honour him must be agreeable. Then the Mogul mounted his elephant, and having reconnoitred his excellency's quarters, wherewith he appeared well pleased, he took his leave ; nor would he permit him to follow in his train, the road not being good ; but insisted on his not stirring from home.

The 16th his excellency went to visit the king of Candabar, who refused to receive him without leave from Afaph Chan or Etimon Doulet, which he sent word he would solicit at the durbar ; but the ambassador replied, he might spare himself that trouble, for he would never attempt to incommodate him again.

It is the custom for the Persian merchants, as soon as they arrive in his territories, to submit the refusal of their commodities to the Mogul, who having taken what he likes, distributes the rest among his people ; an account is then made out of what each man chuses, and an officer appointed for that purpose annexes a price ; a copy of this disposal is given to the merchant, who calls at the houses of his debtors for their respective monies ; if he is delayed, a certain person is sent with authority to oblige them to pay it. The English traders not having acted according to this custom, found it pretty difficult to recover the debts contracted with them by several persons ; however, the Mogul was prevailed upon, by the address of Sir Thomas Rowe, to pardon this first omission,
which

which had its foundation in ignorance, and not in disrespect, and to exert his authority in behalf of the company, to oblige those who owed them any thing immediately to discharge the demand ; but he made an agreement with Sir Thomas, that for the future he should have the first view of the inventory of every English ship's lading that came into his dominions ; promising, in that case, to see them paid for every thing that was sold ; and to pay the deficiency out of his own pocket, provided an insolvent contract a debt with them.

A list of the names of the persons indebted to the company, and the manner of their contracting such debts, was now read over to the Mogul by Afaph Chan ; after which orders were given to Aradeth Chan the lord steward of the household, and to the Cutwal or marshal to take such measures as should procure from these people immediate satisfaction : but this order being neglected, Sir Thomas Rowe had prepared a petitionary complaint concerning it ; which, at an audience a few days after, he was about to deliver to the Mogul, who would have made them repent it ; but his drift being perceived by Afaph Chan, he went up to him before he had compleated it, begging him to desist, and assuring him that he should have justice before the next morning : in pursuance of which promise, the Cutwal and Aradeth Chan, that very evening, went in search of several of the company's debtors, and satisfaction was soon after obtained from all such as could be found.

C H A P. X.

Prince Corone comes to court, and refuses a visit from Sir Thomas : an Indian ship has a narrow escape from some English pirates : Asaph Chan bribed to befriend the English; introduces the ambassador to Corone, and the company's affairs are thereby put in a thriving way: Asaph Chan quarrels with the prince: some Dutch envoys are but indifferently received by the Mogul: end of Sir Thomas Rowe's account of his embassy.

ON the 2d of October prince Corone came to court, attended by a splendid train of noblemen, and was received by his father with as much tenderness as if he had been an only son. All the great men who attended the Mogul, except Sir Thomas Rowe, whose health would not permit it, went out to meet him on the road.

The 6th, his excellency went to visit the prince, but was told he must either come in the beginning of the morning, or stay at the door till he came forth to court, which intimation Sir Thomas taking as an affront, expressed his indignation to the messenger, and departed. In the evening he had an audience of the Mogul, who received him with his usual kindness; but the prince dissembling as if he did not see him, made no return to a bow of his excellency. His majesty asked for the inventory of such goods as were brought by the company's ships, desiring him also to name what privileges he expected for them, and assuring him of every indulgence.

At the same time he observed, the queen-mother was obliged to them for having rescued from two English pirates, in the Red Sea, a ship belonging to her; the crews and passengers of which ship were loud in their praises of the kind usage and hospi-

hospitable behaviour of their preservers: however, his majesty appeared surpris'd, and indeed not without some reason, that subjects of England should chuse thus openly to injure and disobey their king; but he was satisfi'd with being told, they were outlaws, liable to punishment as much as those daily executed in his majesty's dominions for robbery.

His majesty then inquired whether the ships had brought with them any pearls or jewels; to which interrogation his excellency answered in the negative, saying, they were much dearer in England than at Indostan. At this audience the ambassador made a firm friend of Asaph Chan, by whispering him that he had something very curious for him; of which promise, before his departure, that minister took care to remind him; but, before his excellency would entrust him with the knowledge of what it was, he insisted on their squeezing thumbs, a way of solemnly swearing in this country, and promising not to betray him. This ceremony being over, his excellency told Asaph Chan, he had a pearl of immense value to dispose of, and to secure his friendship he had intended it for him; but at the same time took notice, that he knew of what ill consequence it would be, if his majesty came to know there was any such thing of which he had not received intelligence, either by inventory or information. Asaph Chan expressed vast thanks for the favour, repeated his assurances of secrecy, and promised to give as much for it as any body, as well as to introduce Sir Thomas to the prince; and not only make them friends, but also said, he would himself defend him from any oppression the court or any courtiers might attempt to practise on his excellency or his dependents: for he observed, that the Mogul himself was naturally insolent and treacherous; more especially to strangers, being
bound

bound by no ties but those of interest. He counselled him also to secure the queen Normahal's friendship by a present.

Afaph Chan was necessitated to keep his promise, for fear of being betrayed to his sovereign, an event which, tho' in a matter so trifling, might have proved of very fatal consequences to him; and indeed he kept his word every way; for he not only procured an order that the goods of the English company, designed for the ambassador, should come to court without being searched or detained, but also used his interest to have a particular judge appointed to inspect and settle the company's affairs; besides, he himself took off many commodities by wholesale, which must otherwise have been disposed of by retail; in short, this trifling preference secured his friendship immoveably. It is certain, that at the Mogul's court, giving the refusal of a bargain is equal to a present: moreover, few people could be more exact or immediate in their payments than Afaph Chan.

Thro' the means of this minister, on the 12th Sir Thomas had an audience of the prince, by whom he was well received; having presented him with a gold chain, the workmanship of China, on a saucer of the same country; and his highness not only promised for the future to stand by the English, but granted a letter to the deputy-governor of Surat, commanding him to use them respectfully, and give them all such other indulgencies as his excellency required. Nay, the queen, wrought thereto by her brother Afaph Chan, sent the ambassador assurance of her protection, and an order in favour of the company, which she also had obtained from the prince, lest he should have forgotten what he promised personally to do, being of a very hasty and forgetful temper.

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By this his highness secured them entirely from harm; for they were now, as it were, belonging to the queen, who sent a person immediately to assist the company's servants in all reasonable matters, with her name and authority; along with whom Afaph Chan dispatched a trusty servant of his own, by way of second, and to purchase what he wanted of English goods.

In consequence of this courtly favour, all the nobility sent persons on board purposely to buy; so that, without any loss or delay by seizures, duties, or carriages, the ships sold their cargoes before landing, and could have sold three times more. On the 24th the Mogul removed from Mandoa, and the English ambassador followed him on the 29th, not without great inconveniencies, as well on account of the want of carriages as the scarcity of water, and dearness of provisions. On the 2d of November, two persons of the name of Steel and Jackson came on shore privately, with some pearls and other odd matters by his excellency's order, which were shewn to Afaph Chan, who was well pleased with the first sight of them, tho' they were not such as he wanted; neither were they fit for the market of Indostan.

On the 10th of November, Sir Thomas laboured hard to invalidate a report of the English company's ships having large quantities of brick and lime on board, in order to erect a fort without the Mogul's leave. A few nights after, the prince spoke lightly of the worth of the English traffic, and was hotly opposed by Afaph Chan, who while he enhanced the advantages which accrued from them to the Mogul's dominions, accused the prince's officers of having behaved to the company with violence and injustice, an impeachment which irritated the Mogul very much against the prince, and caused almost an irreparable breach between this last and
Afaph

Asaph Chan : in consequence of it, however, the custom-house officers received a very strict charge, to behave respectfully for the future ; and Sir Thomas courageously declared, that if, after these public marks of protection from the royal fountain of authority, any violence or force should be offered to the company's people, he would order it to be repelled by force, tho' it should cost the effusion of some blood.

Some Dutch envoys appeared at court on the 30th of January, with several Chinese rarities, by way of presents ; they did not seem to be known ; for the prince asked the English ambassador who they were ? and on his answering that they were a nation under protection of the English, but not held in the highest esteem, he replied, as friends to the English they should be welcome : whereupon Sir Thomas being desired, forwarded their presents, for they were not allowed to come within the rails, but to keep without side the third ascent, near some English merchants, who did not interchange any discourse with them.

Here concludes all that we have extant in Sir Thomas Rowe's papers, the remainder being lost : nor is it very material ; for Purchas, who, we are to suppose, had seen them complete, says, they contained nothing curious, but only some few observations relating to trade.

C H A P. XI.

The extent of the Mogul's dominions : the magnificent ruins of Cytor : vast expence of maintaining the Mogul's wild beasts : strange laws with respect to inheritance : whence the name of Mogul is derived : ceremonies of various religions : a character of Ezbar Shah ; his encouragement of the Jesuits ; his untimely death.

THE Mogul's dominions, at the time of Sir Thomas Rowe's embassy, were larger than the Persian, and near equal to the Turkish monarchy : they contained thirty-six large kingdoms, among which that of Cytor was not the least remarkable, the chief city of which stands upon a hill ; its walls were ten miles round ; it was destitute of inhabitants ; but, from its pompous remains, appeared to have been a very splendid place, shewing the ruins of above one hundred thousand houses, besides a noble palace, and more than one hundred churches, most of them built of hewn stone and elegantly carved ; there being some pillars of very delicate workmanship. This kingdom lies to the north-east of Guzarat, and north-west of Cundis ; it belonged to a descendant of Porus, against whom Alexander the Great marched, and was subdued by Ezbar Shah, father to the Mogul who sat on the throne of Indostan while Sir Thomas Rowe was ambassador there.

Agra, the chief city and residence of the sovereign, was thought to be a thousand miles distant from the borders at the nighest, from the north-east to the south-west, of which borders, that is from Harduar to Duarsa, the space was said to be fifteen hundred miles, and from north to south above fourteen hundred miles ; from Agra to Calcutta,

hor, being seven hundred miles, was a high road planted with beautiful trees.

The Mogul's revenues must have been extraordinarily great; for we are told, the expences of maintaining his elephants and lions only, amounted to ten thousand pounds sterling. He was heir in general to all his subjects, whether merchants or others, appropriating what he thought proper to the maintenance of their wives and children: his friendship was won and maintained by presents; and he who made the most and richest was sure of the best reward: he disposed of lands and governments according to his own liking; and, as at most other courts, the sycophant was preferred to the man of merit.

His governors were almost all absolute, having the disposal of life and fortune in their hands. The buildings thro' the whole empire were low, and walled with mud, except the king's houses, which were handsome and uniform, built of stone; the reason of this meanness is, because no man can be said to have any property of his own; and a favourite, whose possessions shall produce him more than the revenue of a German electorate, shall leave a son, who perhaps has scarcely any thing left him to begin the world with; wherefore numbers of great men reside in tents, which are not only commodious, but can easily be made magnificent.

There were no registered nor written laws in the Indostan, all things being decided by the absolute judgment of the sovereign, or of his governor. There are many different religions known here, and each divided into many different sects. In some places there are a few, but indeed very few Christians; also Banians, who are Pythagoreans, believing in the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls; wherefore they won't slay any living thing, and make a point of killing a flea, for fear of annoying a father or a cousin; and idolaters of many
forts,

forts, such as worshippers of fire, and those whose wives leap joyfully upon the funeral piles, and consume themselves with the flame that reduces the body of their dead husbands to ashes; besides these, there are numbers who profess themselves followers of Hali, and if Jehan Guire Shah was of any religion, which was a doubt, his were the tenets of these people.

The Mahometan belief was introduced by the offspring of Tamerlane, who imposed it upon none by law, but recommended it, leaving all people free to adopt or reject it; and it was from the circumcision introduced by Mohammedanism, that the kings were called Moguls, which signifies chief of the circumcised, circumcision being enforced by the laws of Mahomet: before these times the people were heathens of various sects, having no settled belief; and since they are divided also, some following the Koran of Mahomet, some the creed of Hali, in which the difference is not very essential; and others the tenets of later expounders of the doctrine of Mohammedanism: they have all their different mosques or places of public worship, priests, votaries, forms, prayers and ceremonies. Their penitents are remarkably severe in voluntary punishments and chastisements, as are also many professors of idolatry in all parts of the East-Indies.

Some heathens or idolaters, whose different principles it would be tedious to enumerate, worship beasts, fire, &c. drink wine, and eat all kinds of flesh, not excepting pork, as the Mahometans do; others will meddle with no flesh, but such as is deemed holy; and there are still others who eat nothing that has life, nor will they drink with those that do: they pay a particular respect to the river Ganges, where forty or fifty thousand of

them meet annually to make oblations of gold and silver.

At the coming of Ezbar Shah to the crown, the people were in a state of very great ignorance, none but the Mahometan priests pretending to any thing of literature, and their knowledge being only a smattering of mathematics and astrology; but Ezbar Shah, who was not only just and pious, but also very curious and fond of promoting knowledge and virtue, having heard of the reputation of the Christian missionaries at Goa, sent very kind invitations and promises of protection to father Jerom Xaverius and two other jesuits, then upon that mission; who accepting thereof, arrived in his dominions, where, by their example, learning, and purity of manners, they made many converts; and beamed in many places the light of instruction, before which, the mist of darkness dispersed very fast.

Xaverius by the Mogul's express command wrote a defence of Christianity, and a refutation of Mahometanism and Idolatry, which his majesty was greatly pleased to hear read to him, and explained; often condescending to argue upon the different topics, in which he shewed himself a man of sound sense, ready conception, and great penetration. He not only gave them patents for converting his subjects; instructing them in the Roman Catholic belief, and building churches, but also gave large endowments to both the priests and their temples: and publicly allowed liberty of conscience, declaring that the profession of Christianity had nothing in it disagreeable to him; and that he did not care if his whole-court, nay the princes of the blood royal were of that religion, for he promised it should never injure them.

His majesty afterwards deviated from the belief of Mahomet, and at last died, with a general good character, without being supposed over strict in any religion, tho' he made profession of Mahometanism with his last breath, to the disappointment of the fathers.

C H A P. XII.

Jehan Guire succeeds to the throne of Indostan: his character: pretends to be inclined to Christianity; and has a comical design on the jesuits: a miracle wrought: the great sagacity of an ape.

HIS son and successor Jehan Guire was a good natured, chearful man, rather fat than otherwise, of an olive complexion; he could talk well enough, and never having been circumcised, nor indeed instructed in any, during the search for true religion, was rather an atheist than any thing else; he sometimes called himself a follower of Mahomet, but performed several ceremonies peculiar to Paganism and Idolatry. He cooked up, by these means, a religion of his own; called himself a greater prophet than Mahomet, and made a matin appearance to be revered by many who followed his oddities: yet he was not fond of people who changed their religion, being out of humour with none except Mahomet, whom he was pleased to hear satyrised. The name of Christ he always venerated, nor would he permit him to be spoken of with the slightest disrespect.

He enlarged and confirmed the revenues of the new Christian church, and for more than a year consumed two hours every night in listening to disputes concerning the doctrine thereof, and dropping hints as if he meant to be converted. By his

his direction, the reverend fathers set up a school, and sent two young boys, his brothers, with several other youths, to be educated in the Christian belief, taught the sciences, and instructed in the Portuguese tongue.

They were solemnly baptized in the church at Agra, with great pomp and solemnity, being first carried in procession round the city, mounted upon elephants. While his majesty seemed more and more pleased with their progress, opinions varied with respect to the reality of his designs; some inclining to the profession of which they imagined the Mogul a member, others believing that he suffered the children to be thus educated, to render them odious to the Moors; and by such means establish himself more firmly in his own dominion; but none saw into his true design; it was hard they should, for it was an odd one.

The jesuits were one day surprized by the two princes addressing them formally, and entreating them to bestow Portuguese wives on them, who being Christians, might strengthen them in the religion, that differed so widely from that of Indostan, and disallowed a plurality of wives, as well as forbade the marrying with infidels. The jesuits smiled at their request, and gently chid them for their boyish folly, suspecting no more; but the very next day the youngsters came to them again, and told them, since the king of Portugal would not give them wives from among his subjects, they would be no longer of his religion; so saying, they resigned their crosses, breviaries, and as it afterwards appeared, their belief, to the good fathers from whom they had received them.

The jesuits began now to open their eyes, and justly to imagine there was more in this address than boyish inclination, since it seemed quite di-

vested of that awe which formerly hung over their pupils ; upon this they took them to task, and at last influenced them to acknowledge that they acted in obedience to the desire of the Mogul. Corfi, however, would not accept the crosses, &c. from them, saying they could not possibly accept of a surrendry made by children ; that these things were delivered by his majesty's command ; and if they were to be given up, it was expected his majesty would signify his will accordingly, by one of those officers by whom he sends his orders ; and whose enunciation is equal to a warrant.

The boys went back to their uncle with this message, which incensed him extremely ; however, he ordered the fathers to be summoned to the womens lodge, whither he retired. When he heard they were at the door, he sent a lady to tell them, that his nephews had acted by his order ; and that it was his desire they should return to their former religion, and that the school should be broke up. With this unexpected command they were obliged to comply ; and the youths are now openly known to be infidels, without paying the smallest regard to, or seeming to retain, the slightest impression of their first faith. From hence it was evident, and it was afterwards well known, that the Mogul wanted to try what sort of flesh and blood the women of Portugal were made of ; and he hoped, by pretending himself of their religion, to have made the reverend fathers act the part of pimps. It is certain that, ever after, Jehan Guire Shah gave himself no farther trouble in establishing or encouraging Christianity.

Some time after this incident, the jesuits house and church having been consumed by fire, there was found a crucifix in the ruins untouched ; an account of which was instantly published as a miracle, and coming to his majesty's ears, he sent for

one of the jesuits, who related the accident to him, and with whom he had a long conference: among other things, he asked him whether he did not desire to make a convert of him; to which the good father answering yes, the Mogul replied, I have heard you talk much of your miracles, and the wonders performed by the name of your prophet: now I will deal very fairly with you; cast a crucifix before me into the fire, and make what interest with your prophet you please to save it, I give you my word, if it comes out again without any damage, I will become a Christian: with this desire the jesuit did not think proper to comply, saying, that God was not bound to obey the call of his creature; that to tempt him were insolence; and that his miracles were voluntary; however, the good father offered to throw himself into the fire, as a testimony of his faith, a sacrifice which the Mogul would not permit.

Here the prince Corone interposed, being a zealous Mahometan, and an enemy to Christians in general, urging that this was a reasonable trial of the truth of the jesuit's religion, who, he insisted, should be compelled to take the turban, if the crucifix was burnt: he advanced several stories of miracles having been wrought upon less occasions than the conversion of so powerful a monarch; and concluded his discourse with invectives against the Saviour of mankind: which Jehan Guire Shah resented; and drawing a comparison between many of the actions of Christ and those of the pretended Mahometan saints, proved the preference ought to be given to the former; and defended his claim to the character of a very great prophet. His majesty having advanced that no miracle wrought, or said to be wrought by Mahomet and his most holy followers, was equal to that of restoring the dead to life, as in the case of La-

zarus; the prince answered, that giving sight to a man blind from his birth was equal to it: and a third person settled the controversy, by saying that both the prince and his father were right in their judgments; for, said he, the greatest miracle that can be performed is to give life to the dead: now an eye naturally blind is certainly a dead body, sight being the life of it; therefore he who gave sight to the eye naturally blind, animated a dead body; consequently he that had raised the dead, was not to be ranked above him who illuminated the eye in that case. This manner of arguing silenced both father and son; and here the dispute subsided.

Before we dismiss our reader from this account of Indostan, we shall take notice of one story, the truth of which, tho' strongly asserted, we shall not take upon us to maintain, but leave every one who peruses it, to form a spontaneous judgment.

Few nations produce better jugglers than Bengal; a native of which place brought a curious ape to the court of Jehan Guire Shah, which was said to be an excellent diviner, a virtue which the Indians generally attribute to this frolicksome animal. His majesty diverted himself a good while with the tricks of this ape, and among other pranks hid his ring with a particular person, whom the ape soon found, tho' many others were present. After this feat, the names of twelve lawgivers, such as Christ, Moses, Mahomet, Haly, &c. were inscribed in the Persian tongue on separate bits of paper, and shuffled all together in a bag; and the ape being ordered to divine which was the truest, drew out the name of Christ. This distinction surprized the Mogul a little at first; however, supposing the juggler might know how to read the Persian tongue, and by that means secretly influence

ence the animal, the different names were written over again in court characters, when the ape's choice was still as before ; with this addition, that he kissed it with great solemnity.

An officer who was present entreated his majesty would allow him to make up the names, and he would be bound to discover the deceit ; for that there was deceit he was firmly persuaded : his request being granted, he put eleven names into the bag, reserving the twelfth in his hand. The ape examined the bag very carefully, but rejected all that he found ; and the monarch commanding him to bring one, he shewed his refusal by tearing every one of them to pieces ; then he ran to the officer, and laid hold of the hand in which he had kept the name of Christ. This was said to have been performed in the presence of many people ; and to have made the Mogul very thoughtful, who purchased the ape, and held it in very great esteem.

The most saleable commodities in Indostan were fire-arms, swords, knives, tapestries, tissues, light stuffs, and silks, sweet wines, rich horse furniture, game dogs of all sorts, plumes of feathers, prints, pictures that have many figures well executed, watches, watch-chains, burning, spying, and drinking glasses, precious stones well set, and seals elegantly engraved, cabinets, with all sorts of curious toys, and nice nick-nacks, particularly the workmanship of China.

The people are ingenious and tractable, easily taught to imitate any thing that is shewn them, they being excellent artificers, and good painters ; as they shewed themselves in counterfeiting so well the pictures exhibited by Sir Thomas Rowe to the Mogul, as well as by their making rather better coaches after the model of that which he brought with him from England. It was that gentleman's opi-

nion, that business would be transacted here by a private agent, a native of the country, known at court, and acquainted with trade; who may be had for a thousand roupies a year, better than by ten ambassadors.

At the time of Sir Thomas Row's departure for England, the Mogul entrusted him with a letter to king James the first; its address being very particular, we have here transcribed it.

“ To a king rightly descended from his an-
 “ cestors, skilled in martial affairs, and cloathed
 “ with honour and justice; a commander deserving
 “ all command, of strength and perseverance in
 “ the religion taught by the great prophet Christ;
 “ king James, whose love hath made an impresson
 “ upon my thoughts, never to be wiped out, but
 “ as the smell of amber, or as a garden stocked
 “ with fragrant flowers, whose beauty and odours
 “ are in a continual increase; so shall my love im-
 “ prove and increase with yours, &c.”

This letter contained assurances of his friendship to the subjects of England, and of his inclination to protect the merchants who were natives of that kingdom; but when it was finished, the Mogul was vastly at a loss where to affix the seal, so as neither to disparage himself, or give occasion of offence to the monarch whom he addressed: had he sealed it at the bottom, he imagined, it would have been demeaning himself; had he sealed it on the top, he was afraid it might be interpreted into disrespect of king James; and these considerations determined the Mogul to deliver the letter open to the ambassador, and to give him the seal, which was of silver, having his genealogy from Tamerlane, he being the ninth descendant, engraven on it; desiring him to deliver it to his sovereign, who
 might

might affix the seal to what part of the letter he pleased.

We may judge of the cheapness of this country at that time, from Mr. Thomas Coryat's assuring us, that he spent but three pounds in ten months, the time which he consumed, in travelling a-foot from Aleppo to Ardsinere, where the Mogul then resided, and out of those three pounds, some Armenian Christians defrauded him of ten shillings; so that in reality it cost him but fifty shillings, he being well entertained in some places for one penny a day.



The VOYAGE of Captain JOHN
MONK. To which are prefixed, Some
curious Memoirs, relating to OLD
and NEW GREENLAND.

CHAP. I.

*The situation of Old Greenland, and an inquiry into
the origin of its inhabitants: the adventures of
Erick and his son Sief: various accounts concerning
this country: different animals natural to Green-
land described: the duke of Russia near being
tricked: strange appearances on the coast.*

GREENLAND comprehends the vast space
of land that stretches along the Frozen sea,
from Cape Farewell to Spitzbergen and
Nova Zembla; it was once thought, without any
certain reason, to have joined Great Tartary; its
northern bounderies remain yet unknown, its sou-
thern are the ocean; it borders on the Frozen sea
to the eastward, and Hudson's Straits separate it
from America on the west: from the discovery of
Davis's Straits being but a bay, it has been infered
that it joined the continent of America; but from
captain Monk's voyage, this opinion appears to
be ill founded.

The Danish chronicles advance that it was first
inhabited by Americans, who were driven upon the
coast by a tempest, and that they afterwards extended
their settlements to Norway; but this account fa-
vours a little of the fable almost inseparable from an-
tient history. Is it not more probable, that it was

peopled first from Norway? There is some authority for this belief.

We are told that Tonvold, a Norwegian gentleman, being convicted of several murders, fled to Iceland, where he died; and that his son Erick, surnamed the Red-haired, who accompanied him, after the father's death, being guilty of the same crime for which he was prosecuted, went to sea in search of a country called Gundebiurn, lying to the west of Iceland, and soon discovered two promontories, one on an island called Witsercken or White Shirt, from the snow wherewith it is covered, and one on the continent, called Wharf, which he named Sand Safn.

Erick passed the winter in the island, and in the spring crossed over to the continent, which, from some verdure that he saw, perhaps unexpectedly, he called Greenland. He was not without some followers, since he built castles in several places, during three years that he remained here; after which time, he went back to Iceland; where he represented this new country in a light so very advantageous, that he found adventurers ready to follow him thither. In the mean time a son of his named Lief, and afterwards Lief the Fortunate, having crossed over to Norway, and given some account of the places to the reigning prince, was, after being converted to the Christian faith and baptized, sent back with a priest to preach Christianity; the people received him with joy, but his father was displeased at his having brought with him some foreign seamen, whom he had saved from shipwreck, not thinking it for his interest that this country should be known to strangers; however, he was afterwards reconciled to him, and, together with all his followers, made open profession of Christianity.

This

This event happened about the year 780, the posterity of Erick increased considerably, and advanced proportionably into the country, where they found good pasturage, a fertile soil, and excellent water: they divided the land into the eastern and western Greenland; in the eastern, they built a city called Garde, where they dedicated a good cathedral to St. Nicholas, the patron of seafaring men; here the bishop resided, one of the name of Henry being mentioned by Pontanus, as sitting among the assembly of the Danish states anno 1389; and many Norwegians resorted to traffic. Some time afterwards, another city rose near the sea-shore, called Alb, where a monastery was founded sacred to St. Thomas the apostle, the people being very religious.

Greenland was already well known when the Danish kings first became Christians; and we find it mentioned, as in the jurisdiction of Ansgarius bishop of Bremen, and constituted archbishop of the north, in a bull of pope Gregory the fourth, published anno 835, and extant in the chronicles of Bremen. It was afterwards, in spirituals, subservient to the bishop of Drontheim; and, in temporals, governed according to the laws of Iceland, by a person whom the king of Norway appointed. We have a list of its governors, and of its bishops, to the year 1489, given us by Angrim Jonas, an Icelander, in a treatise stiled *Specimen Islandicum*.

The Danish chronicle, from which, and one of Iceland, written in their respective languages, we have copied our accounts of this territory, mention an insurrection of the people anno 1356, on account of a tax exacted from them by Magnus king of Norway; who being assisted by a strong fleet belonging to his brother Erick king of Denmark, soon reduced them to sue for peace, which was accordingly granted in 1261; when they consented

sented to pay a perpetual tribute to the crown of Norway. There is a confused, undigested description of Greenland, in the abovementioned Iceland chronicle, which fixes in the most easterly part of it, a city called Scagenfiord, where there is a harbour almost inaccessible from surrounding rocks, except at the time of a very high tide; and here whales and many other sorts of fish are caught, in stormy weather particularly. At a small distance, is another little harbour, to which Funchibudet, a courtier belonging to Oaas king of Norway, who chanced to be shipwrecked here, gave his name. Beyond it is the isle of Roanson, which swarms with wild beasts, but principally with white bears; and farther that way, nothing is to be perceived but ice.

On the west is a place called Kindelfiord, surrounded by a branch of the sea, near which, at Rempesingford there is a nunnery, and many small islands abounding with warm springs, which are used with success in some physical cases during the summer, but they are useless from their vast increase of heat in winter; and a little farther is found a certain substance, called talc stone, of so soft a nature as to admit being cut into any form whether hollow or solid, and yet it is proof against fire. Bondefiord lies to the westward, where are several small islands, and many good landing-places.

The country has been thought void of inhabitants, by the person who wrote these chronicles; but this was certainly a mistake, arising from the natural timidity of the people, which induced them to hide themselves on the approach of strangers, of which, it is said, there have been many instances. And the Danish chronicle positively asserts that the Norwegians did not possess the hundredth part of Greenland; the rest being divided into
different

different nations and principalities, governed and inhabited by the natives, with whom the Norwegians had scarcely any communication.

The Icelander differs in his accounts of the fertility of Greenland, at one time mentioning corn and stout oak, as products of the soil; and at another, affirming that bread is unknown to the inhabitants; and that the ground is so strongly fettered by the excess of cold, as to be extremely barren: this opinion the Dane confirms, for he says, that Erick the Redhaired, on his first arrival here, was forced to feed on fish, it being the only sustenance that could be procured; however, we have already observed that his posterity had better luck. The latter also asserts, that in Greenland the cold is less intense than in Norway, which every body knows is a corn country; nay it is farther said, they have two harvests in the summer season; nor does this appear improbable, if we consider that the rays of the sun are reflected upon the valleys from the surrounding rocks, with double force, while the glebe is properly meliorated, by the snow being gently melted down upon it; so that their sowing and reaping twice in the warm months of June, July, and August, is not quite so surprising; this we are sure of, that good corn grows in Upland in Sweden, and it is under the same elevation of the pole as that part of Greenland inhabited by the Norwegians.

But why may there not be some lands here, as well as in all other countries that are fertile and others barren? Tho' the higher grounds are rocky and produce variety of marble, the vallies may afford good pasturage for horses, deer, hares, nay for bears and wolves. Here were many species of falcons which were held in much estimation.

Whales, sea-wolves, sea-calves, and sea-dogs, are very plenty round the coast; to these we may add

add the white bear, as it is an amphibious animal, living among the ice and feeding on fish; the black bears are neither so large nor so savage; their constant territory is the land, and they never prey upon fish. The sea-wolves and dogs are reckoned, in some measure dainties, and foster their young upon the ice for fear of the whale, who is an implacable enemy to them and the white bear, which makes the latter very cautious of venturing far, when the ice begins to melt, tho' they are sometimes carried away upon large pieces of ice, that are suddenly melted from the main body, and driven upon the coasts of Norway and Iceland; where, impelled by hunger, they destroy every thing that falls in their way with prodigious fury.

From a species of whales not uncommon upon the coast is taken that horn or tooth, that the Danes, some ages since, imposed upon the world, for the true unicorn's horn, selling it at a vast price; they are still highly esteemed in physic, one of them is shewn as a great curiosity at St. Denis in France, but there is a much larger in Frederickburgh, belonging to his Danish majesty.

There was one of a considerable size brought, not many years ago, to Moscow, by a person in the service of the Greenland company settled at Copenhagen; who was near getting a large price for it from the great duke of Russia, but that one of his physicians discovered it to be a fishes tooth, and not the real unicorn's horn; on which the bargain was broke off.

There is a land animal mentioned by Moses, called the unicorn, to which he compares God for vigour and chearfulness; the same name is given by Aristotle to the Indian ass, and Pliny describes the unicorn to have the head of a deer, the body of a horse, and the feet of an elephant, with a
long

long wreathed horn growing out of its forehead, of prodigious strength and swiftness.

Why may there not be land and sea-unicorns, as well as wolves, dogs, calves, &c.? tho' from a description given of this creature by Thorlas Scalonius, bishop of Iceland, who paints from the life, it appears that what we call the horn, is more properly a tooth, fixed to the upper part of the jaw-bone. Two strange sorts of monsters are said to have formerly infested the seas of Greenland, both the certain precursors of tempestuous weather; one of them transparent like ice, with the nose, eyes, shoulders, shape and arms of a man, and no hands; but the head tapering up to a pyramidical point, it is called by the Norwegians, Hafftramb. The other is shaped like a woman, with large breasts, long flowing hair, and fingers growing at the ends of the arms, webbed like a goose's feet; it is named Margugwer.

There was also another phenomenon very dangerous; namely a whirlpool, caused by the hurricanes, which raised the waves to a prodigious height; and if any ships were so unfortunate as to be engaged amongst them, they were inevitably swallowed in the vast abyss. The many hot springs to be found in Greenland prove, that burning mountains of sulphur exist as well there as in Iceland; and the Danish chronicle mentions a very extraordinary tempest of thunder, lightning, &c. anno 1308. whereby a church in Greenland, called Sealholt, was burned to the ground; and this was succeeded by a hurricane, the most dreadful that can be imagined, whereby rocks were torn from their roots, and shattered, while the whole country was covered with ashes.

C H A P. II.

Of the meteors of this country : a law to hinder people from travelling to it without a royal licence ; of the loss of Old Greenland ; and some endeavours made to account for that loss : Sir Martin Forbisher's two voyages in search of it : he lands on New Greenland.

THE days in winter are short ; in summer there is scarcely any night, and the sky in general is clear ; to which those meteors that are now common in our skies, altho' not known amongst us till the year 1715, called the north lights, or aurora borealis, contribute considerably. These phenomena are very pale, and of different forms, such as spiral, pyramidical, oblong, &c. keeping in perpetual motion, and emitting a strong lustre ; sometimes recoiling as if it were into themselves, and then suddenly shooting out to a vast length, with redoubled brightness : we have them mostly in clear frosty nights ; and in Ireland they are still more usual than in England.

The kings of Denmark and Norway have, without any success, fitted out several ships for discovering the northern parts of Greenland, from a supposition that they yield gold, silver, and precious stones ; and this belief arose from the report of some Friezlanders, who being forced by a storm into a creek in Northern Greenland, went on shore, where, in most wretched half-buried huts, they found a large quantity of metallic stones, with which having loaded themselves, they made for their ships ; but the natives attacked them in their retreat, and pressed them very hard with slings, bows and arrows, tearing to pieces one of their
number,

number, who chanced, by lagging a little behind, to fall into their hands. This discovery happened in the reign of Olaus the Holy, king of Norway.

The revenues of Greenland being appropriated to the support of the king of Norway's table, it was death by the law for any one to pass thither without a special permission; and in the year 1389, some people being accused of having made this voyage in an illegal manner, had like to have paid for it with their lives; and tho' they proved, upon oath, that they were driven thither by stress of weather, they were long imprisoned, and suffered considerable hardships. Restrictions of this nature are always a circumscription to knowledge; they intimidated other people from holding any commerce with this forbidden tract, or even making an advance towards it: this prohibition principally contributed to the loss of that country; for, however surprising it may appear, that part of the world in which is Old Greenland has been lost to us, and hid as it were from our knowledge ever since the latter end of the fourteenth century, when most of the Greenland licensed company were swept off by an epidemical distemper, which first interrupted the correspondence, and a war between Denmark and Sweden some time after entirely broke it off; so that at present the course is quite unknown, and all endeavours hitherto, to recover it, have proved ineffectual.

By examining, in the Danish chronicle, the catalogue of the sovereigns who have succeeded to the thrones of Denmark and Norway since queen Margaret, we find the attention of most of them diverted from the recovery of this land, either by political or religious views; and those who have inclined to it seem, by a sort of fatality, to have been prevented: for we find it particularized in the reign of king Frederick II. that one Magnus Henningson having set out upon that discovery, met very bad weather;

weather ; however he came at last in sight of the shore, where notwithstanding the sea on every side was free and open, neither obstructed by ice nor shallows, his ship was stopt ; nor could any of his endeavours to make the land, succeed. This detention he attributed to the vast quantity of loadstone supposed to be at the bottom of the water hereabouts. Had Magnus known the power attributed to the fish called remora, which is said singly to be able to stop a ship under sail, he might have accounted much better for this strange obstruction, which happened in the year 1588.

The preceding year, queen Elizabeth dispatched Martin Forbisher to make discoveries to the northward ; but the approach of winter, and increase of the ice prevented him from reaching the shore ; so that he was forced to return home without success.

In 1583 he set out upon another expedition of the same nature, and made New Greenland ; the inhabitants of which forsook their huts, in great terror, when his people landed, and some of them flung themselves into the sea. All endeavours to cultivate an acquaintance with these savages were in vain : an old woman and a child however fell into their hands, and the former shrieked most horridly at the child's being taken from her. Their tents were skins of the whale and sea-calf fastened to strong poles, and well defended from the east and north winds ; they were open to the west and south.

As they coasted along, they saw a monster's head, with a horn near four feet long, raised above the surface of the water ; and going ashore found the sand glitter like gold, of which they took three hundred tons along with them. They made several advances at conferring with these people, who at last seemed as if near complying, by beckoning
to

to them to row higher up the river; upon which, Martin entered a boat with some soldiers for that purpose; but finding the savages numerouslŷ posted among the rocks, he avoided coming too near the bank, for fear of treachery; and he was certainly right: for from their conduct it was plain they intended mischief. Among other arts used to draw him on shore, one of their people was stretched out as if lame and helpless, under a rock, behind which, but out of sight, was posted a large body of the people in ambuscade. Forbisher suspecting their design, fired a gun at the seeming cripple, which soon set him on his legs, and he ran for it; however, upon the noise, the bank was filled with people, who poured instantaneously from their place of concealment, and annoyed the people in the boat with stones and arrows; but a volley of shot soon cleared the place effectually, for they all fled with precipitation.

These people are active, well-made, of an olive complexion, and treachery seems to be their characteristic; they are covered with skins of seal-calves tacked together, with a thread made of the sinews of beasts: the women and men dress much alike, each wearing a sort of breeches with many pockets, which they stuff with knives, needles, yarn, looking-glasses, and such other toys as they pick up upon the shore after a shipwreck. They stain their faces blue, and their long hair hangs untwisted over their shoulders; their garments are generally loose, carelessly tied about the middle, and they have no notion of the shame that affected our primogenitor, Adam, not seeming to know that any particular part should be concealed: would not a person hence be induced to imagine, these people do not partake of the original sin of our first father? since this knowledge is, by casuists, said to be one of the immediate consequences of the fall.

They

They have no riches but bows and arrows, with which they can shoot fishes as they swim, and they have boats made of the sea-calf's skin, fitted to contain only one person.

Their larger vessels will hold a score of people; they are wood covered with whale skin; their sails are the intestines of fish; and in these they venture to sea, being very strong, tho' without any iron work to cement them. They have no horses, but their sleds are drawn by very large dogs that are not untractable: the climate neither produces nor cherishes any animal more venomous than a gnat or a spider. They have no fresh springs, and are obliged to use melted snow.

CH A P. III.

Christiern IV. king of Denmark fits out a fleet to go in search of Old Greenland: New Greenland discovered: some silver found here; and five or six of the natives brought captives to Denmark: great expectations of gold on this coast.

CHRISTIERN IV. king of Denmark, having the discovery, or rather the recovery of Greenland at heart, engaged an experienced English sailor in his service, whom, together with Lindenau, a Dane, not unacquainted with the northern coasts, he sent with three ships into those seas. They left the Sound in summer 1605, and divided on account of the ice, the Englishman steering south-west, the Dane north-east, and the latter reached New Greenland; whence the inhabitants came off in their boats, and ventured with little entreaty on board, where they were treated with wine and train-oil; to the latter of which they gave much the preference, drinking it very greedily. They prized iron at a great rate, parting with even their arms

or cloaths for it ; but seemed to hold gold and silver in great contempt. They bartered bear-skins, pieces of the unicorn-horn, and sea-calfs skins for needles, knives, looking glasses, and other baubles.

The Dane staid but three days on the coast, not caring in that time to venture on shore ; and he set sail for Denmark on the 4th, bearing away with him two of the natives, who were so outrageous at being detained, that he was forced to have them bound : their brethren endeavoured to revenge this insult from the beach, with their arrows ; but some cannon-shot soon put them to the route.

The Englishman in the mean time reached the other side of this territory, where he found good harbours and plenty of pasturage : the natives here seemed more reserved and mistrustful than those who dealt with the Dane ; for no sooner had they got any thing they liked than they retired with precipitation and fear. Here some of the Englishman's people went on shore, well-armed, and found the soil good, but rocky like that of Norway. From the strong sulphureous smell which scented all the air, they imagined the mountains must contain great quantities of sulphur and fiery matters. From a hundred weight of a sort of silver ore which they found here, and carried to Denmark, they extracted twenty ounces of pure silver. They made four of the natives prisoners ; and one of them being more obstinate than the rest, was knocked down with a musket, an example that made the rest much tamer : but their detention being discovered, the passage to the captors ships was cut off : however, it was soon opened with gunpowder, and three prisoners brought off, who were presented to the king of Denmark, and proved to be more civilized and better made than those the Dane

Dane had imported, being different as well in language and manners as in apparel.

The following year Christiern, who was well satisfied with their voyage, sent five ships under the command of Lindenau the Dane, with orders to take the course of the Englishman, and steer south-west. The savages were put on board to serve as interpreters, but one of them died by the way. Lindenau arrived on the coast of Greenland with four of his ships, the fifth having been separated from him in a storm; but found, from the hostile appearance and menacing gestures of the natives, who crowded upon the sea-side in arms, that attempting to land would be madness, this made him try two or three different harbours, but the scene was every where the same; notwithstanding which opposition, he made a shift to seize six of these savages, from among several who followed the ships at a distance, as if to observe the course he intended to steer; and these were brought on board, together with their boats and oars: one of them soon after drowned himself for grief.

Lindenau's valet, a rash but resolute fellow, having taken it in his head, that he could bring the savages to some terms, was, after much entreaty, permitted to go on shore, where he was cut in pieces before he had advanced half a dozen yards. Lindenau seeing that he could make no progress here at any rate, returned to Denmark, after a very troublesome and dangerous voyage.

The king, soon after, fitted out two ships for a third expedition to Greenland, under the care of one Richardson, a native of Holstein, assisted by some of the most experienced mariners of Norway and Iceland, who, the 26th day after his leaving the Sound, had sight of the Greenland shore; but that was all: for the passage was so blocked up with ice, that it was impossible to come near it,

It, there being some summers, when the ice does not melt, either from the winter's being more severe, or the summer's being less warm than usual; so that Richardson being divided from one of his ships, and fearing to be jammed in among the ice, retreated homeward, and was well received by the king in spite of his want of success.

As the king did not think fit to send thither any more ships at his own charge, a company of merchants, and some people of quality, under the name of the Greenland company, equipped two vessels for Davies's Streights, where eight natives came on board of them, as soon as they anchored; but whilst they were intent on bartering skins and pieces of horn for looking-glasses, needles, &c. a gun was accidentally fired, on which they all started up and leaped over board, swimming under water till they were a great way from the ship; however, they were afterwards induced to come on board again, and finish their traffic; their way of bargaining was to lay the European commodities and their own in two different parcels, and to take from or to add to either until they were satisfied.

A mate of one of the ships taking notice of a certain sand, that in weight and colour resembled true gold, took in a lading of it, and put to sea as fast as possible, telling his ship-mates their fortunes were all made. The lord high steward of Denmark, who was part owner, was as much surprised at her quick return, as he was at the story of the gold; the cargo being immediately ordered into the hands of some Copenhagen refiners, who reported it to be worth nothing; on which his lordship was very angry, and ordered the mate, without speaking a word of his folly to any body, to throw his fancied treasure into the sea: the poor man obeyed the injunction, and died soon after of grief for his disappointment; however, the

lord high steward had reason to repent of his hurry; for, some sand of the same nature was afterwards brought from the Norwegian mines, which, managed by persons of skill, yielded a good quantity of gold: yet, had it been in the hands of the ignorant Copenhagen goldsmiths, they would have condemned it like the rest.

In this voyage they detained two of the natives, who watched an opportunity of jumping into the sea, where they certainly perished, as they were too far from land, ever to reach it: and they also brought with them that horn, which, we observed before, was to have been sold to the duke of Muscovy: it is still to be seen at Copenhagen, and is valued at six thousand crowns. They moreover understood, by signs made by the savages, that the inland country was well inhabited, by a large, fierce, inhuman people, armed with bows and arrows.

Those savages, who were brought to Denmark, lived upon milk, cheese, fish, raw flesh, and whale oil; but could never be prevailed upon to relish either boiled meat or wine: two of them escaped from their keepers, and put to sea in their own boats, but were forced back by the wind, and thrown ashore at Shonen, twelve leagues beyond the Sound, where they were taken by the country people, and brought again to Copenhagen: they did not live long however, but soon pined to death, perhaps because they were afterwards more strictly guarded than before.

Five of these savages were put in their boats, to row for the entertainment of an ambassador from the court of Spain at Copenhagen; and tho' they had only one oar, and their vessel was extremely small, they kept pace with a boat of sixteen oars. Their performance pleased the ambassador very much, and he rewarded them liberally; in consequence

quence of which, a lively fit seized them, and with the money they equipped themselves after the German fashion, with boots, spurs, &c. offering to serve the king on horseback : this proposal afterwards appeared to be policy, that they might be less watched, and able the more easily to accomplish their escape, which two of them once more accordingly attempted ; one of them was overtaken, the other undoubtedly swallowed up by the waves. It was believed that he who had outstripped his pursuers, must have had a family in his own country, as he never saw a woman with a child in her arms without sighing bitterly.

They all died of melancholy, one soon after another, except two who survived about twelve years ; when one of them being employed by the governor of Coldingen in diving for pearl, of which there is great plenty in the muscles about that place, was by the governor's avarice kept so very hard to work that he died of fatigue ; being compelled to dive, even in the midst of winter, under the ice : the other being inconsolable, once more put to sea, and paddled absolutely thirty leagues from land ; but was brought back again ; and when the impossibility of his ever reaching Greenland was set forth to him, he seemed to be of another opinion, and answered, that he would have run along the coast of Norway to a certain point, and then crossed the seas by the direction of the stars. This poor fellow lived but a short time after this attempt, the bad success of which broke his heart.

During all the time they lived in Denmark they manifested vast stupidity ; for they were scarcely able, tho' great pains were taken with them, to learn a smattering of the Danish tongue ; and remaining totally ignorant of the Christian faith, tho' several learned men laboured hard in their instruction ; yet they appeared to have a notion of some sort

of worship; as they were often seen to lift their eyes to heaven, and pay devotion to the rising-sun. They were well-set, but short men, of a swarthy complexion, with flat noses and thick lips.

We cannot account for the loss of Old Greenland in a more probable manner, than by supposing the ice from the north-west to have stopped up the passage betwixt it and Iceland, where it may have the more easily gathered, as the Iceland chronicle mentions many islands and rocks between the lands, and that in endeavouring to recover it, the mariners were driven upon Cape Farewel and Davies's Straits, so as to find out the country called New Greenland.

CH A P. IV.

Mr. Chancellor lays the foundation of a trade to Russia, by harbouring in port St. Nicholas: some account of Sir Hugh Willoughby's voyage to the Frozen Sea, in search of a north-east passage; and of his death; together with that of all his people by cold. Spitzbergen first discovered.

AFTER the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and afterwards of China and Japan by the Portuguese, other nations essayed to find a shorter passage to these countries, by the north and north-west sides of America; and then by the north-east: this last was first attempted by the English in the reign of Edward VI. when many of the leading men of the nation having formed themselves into a company for discovering unknown countries, fitted out three ships under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor, to find out (if possible) a north-east passage thro' the sea of Tartary to China.

Chancellor was separated from the rest, off the height of Wardhuis and Lapland, in foggy windy weather; and having cruized for some time in those seas, with a view of rejoining them, put by chance into the bay of St. Nicholas belonging to Muscovy, and not at all frequented by Europeans. Here he found the grand duke at war with the Livonians: however, he waited on that prince, with whom he entered into a treaty of commerce, and established a trade that has been since pursued by the English with great success.

Sir Hugh having long wandered about, at length made land in the seventy second degree, which has in many maps been since stiled Sir Hugh Willoughby's country; whence he pursued his course along the coast, till he entered an obscure harbour of Lapland, called Areina Keceas, into which he was forced by the approach of winter; from this place he dispatched three men to the south-west, to view the country and discover the inhabitants; but these returning without having been able to learn any thing, or finding any marks of its being peopled, he sent others to the west and south-east, who had as little success as the former.

The country appeared thus desolate at that time, because, when the winter approaches, the inhabitants retire to the inland parts, which are warmer than the sea-side, where they generally live during the summer. In this harbour, some fisher-men, who came that way accidentally the ensuing year, discovered Sir Hugh Willoughby and the crews of his two ships, to the amount of seventy-two persons, frozen to death, with his diary lying in his cabin, from whence this account of his expedition is extracted: his corpse was brought to London by an English ship, belonging to the Russia trading company, where it was honourably interred.

The English, in consequence of this trade, becoming acquainted with the northern coasts, and observing many sea-horses in those seas, dispatched several ships to catch them, chiefly for the sake of their teeth, which were vastly esteemed at Muscovy.

The sea-horse is very strong, as large as an ox, with four feet and a very thick hide, some times weighing above four hundred pounds; he has a great head, and two teeth as white as ivory, each a foot long, and for these they are so eagerly hunted. They are very fond of their young, and sometimes bring forth two at one time: they are not easily caught when in the water, being of prodigious strength; but there is not much difficulty in seizing them on the ice, where their unweildy bulk and short legs prevent them from making any considerable resistance. They must be also struck on the head, every other part of them being almost invulnerable. They are called morses by the Russians, and walnissets by the Hollanders.

Their flesh produces good oil: at first they were found in plenty about that place which the Dutch call the Island of Bears, and the English Cherry Island; but experience of man's cruelty taught them to retire to the sea at his approach, where fishing for them is both dangerous and difficult.

In the year 1610, the English trading company aforesaid, sent John Pool into the Frozen Sea, who advanced as far as Spitzbergen, which is supposed to be part of Greenland, and was discovered in 1596, by the Dutch, in their third voyage to Nova Zembla. Hereabouts having observed a vast number of whales, the company sent two ships under his care the year following to fish for them; and he had great success: but both his ships being accidentally lost, he and his crews were brought home by an English vessel, driven into that latitude by chance.

In 1612, two more English ships sailed thither on the same errand; and meeting with a Dutch vessel on the coast, obliged it to return home empty.

In 1613, this company having obtained a patent from king James, excluding all others, as well natives as foreigners, from the benefit of this trade, they sent out seven vessels of force, which drove away the ships of every nation and company, their own country vessels not excepted: but the two following years the Dutch had the best of it, turning the tables upon them, and keeping the trade to themselves, protected by eighteen stout vessels, and four frigates of thirty guns each, while the English being only fifteen strong, did not dare to dispute the point. However, in 1616 and 1617 they had the ascendant of the Dutch; but in 1618 the latter returned with a very strong squadron, and not only opposed, but fell upon and plundered the English, obliging them, in a very hostile manner, to retire.

The contest continued long, till both sides being heartily tired of it, the passage was left open to adventurers of all nations.

The Dutch founded their claim upon having been the first discoverers of it, and the English insisted on the same privilege, saying, this must be the country found out by Sir Hugh Willoughby, who had perhaps mistaken the degrees, and for 77 set down 72, there being no other country under those degrees. The king of Denmark also alledged a right to it, as supposing it to be part of Old Greenland, which had been tributary to the crown of Norway; and he seconded his allegation with some men of war; but they were too weak to force other nations, as he intended, to acknowledge his superiority, or pay him tribute.

CHAP. V.

The animal and vegetable productions of Spitzbergen; together with the climate of the country described: some account of the different sorts of whale, and the manner of catching them, and extracting the oil.

SPITZBERGEN, or New Greenland, is the most northern land with which we are acquainted, and extends from seventy-six to eighty degrees; it is named Spitzbergen, from its piqued mountains, which are seen a vast way at sea, and have no firm bottom, being composed of a coarse sand, intermixed with a small flat stone, something like our slate. It is inhabited only by white bears which live on the ice, and are as large and strong as oxen; foxes of different colours, as grey, white, black; and rain-deers, animals shaped like stags, but of a less size, and having smooother horns: they feed on a sort of pale green moss that sprouts among the sand and stones, and while the snow is thick on the ground are very lean; but soon as it begins to melt they thrive surprisngly fast, and often have two inches of fat on their ribs; they rather approach than avoid men; and tho' they disperse at the firing of a gun, they soon return to the same spot, and are so tame that they may be seized by the horns, or easily shot.

The country is extremely cold; and tho' in summer the sun continues more than six weeks above the horizon, making but one continued day, yet is the severity of the weather but thereby little abated; the clearer the sky appears, the more intensely sharp is the air: to this severity the damps rising from the hills make a considerable addition; the air is often so
foggy,

foggy, that it is hard to distinguish beyond a ship's length; so that nothing but insatiate avarice could induce mankind to visit such an inhospitable shore.

The soil is productive of neither shrubs nor trees; but the boilers of oil find, notwithstanding, sufficiency of fuel, a vast quantity of timber being thrown ashore with every tide, tho' from whence cannot be easily explained; and this is the case in all these northern domains. Here are found some wild ducks, and a few other fowls, especially parrots, which differ from those of the Indies in their want of docility, and in having webbed feet; but there are no small fish, except a few haddocks.

The coast is now annually frequented by ships of all nations, on account of the whale; the oil, which is extracted from that fish, being a commodity that yields considerable profit; and every country has its peculiar harbour or station, where are fixed coppers, huts, and the instruments used in extracting the oil, and these they leave behind them when they quit the coast for the season.

The states general have granted a patent to some particular persons, exclusive of all others, for catching whales at Spitzbergen; yet there are several Dutch adventurers that come upon the Greenland coast, and never go ashore, but hunt the whales in the sea, and cut their flesh into small pieces, which they barrel up and carry to Holland, where they boil the oil out of them as at Spitzbergen; but there is a rankness about it, arising from the flesh having been so long kept, that makes it disagreeable, and of somewhat less value than the company's oil.

The whales are divided into two different classes, the black and the white; and these are again subdivided into many others: the white whale is so called, from having a shield of white cockle-shells on his back. Of the black whales there are many

different kinds ; among which that called the fin-fish is but little sought for, being as fierce as it is lean ; the two principal sorts are those who have but one pipe or vent in the head, whence is taken the sperma ceti ; and that called the grand bay, which is the richest and largest, and consequently that which is mostly esteemed. Of this, and the manner of catching it, we shall proceed to give a short description.

The grand bay is very bulky and unweildy, therefore not hard to be caught ; its head is equal to one third of its whole body ; the eyes not larger than those of an ox, nor the eye-ball bigger than a pea : in the place of ears, it has two small holes, scarcely perceptible ; but within the head, immediately under these, are ears well formed, whereby it has a sharp sensation : it has two pipes on the top of the head, that serve the double office of breathing, and discharging the water that it swallows, which is thence often spurted to a considerable height, in very great quantities.

His tongue is about six hundred pounds weight, eighteen feet long and ten broad, of such a height that the tallest man can't overlook it ; it is enclosed by thick hairs, not unlike horse-hairs, which are fastened to the stuff we call whale-bone, of which there are about eight hundred platted together in his mouth, which is between four and five fathoms wide ; his lips are broad and thick, weighing not less than six thousand pounds : he has no teeth : his swallow is extremely narrow ; and there is seldom found any thing in his intestines but a moss that is cast up from the sea's bottom, and a species of spiders, that often cover the surface of the water, and are by sailors regarded as a sure sign of a whale being near at hand ; but these are not thought to contribute much to his nourishment, for it is generally believed that sea-water is his

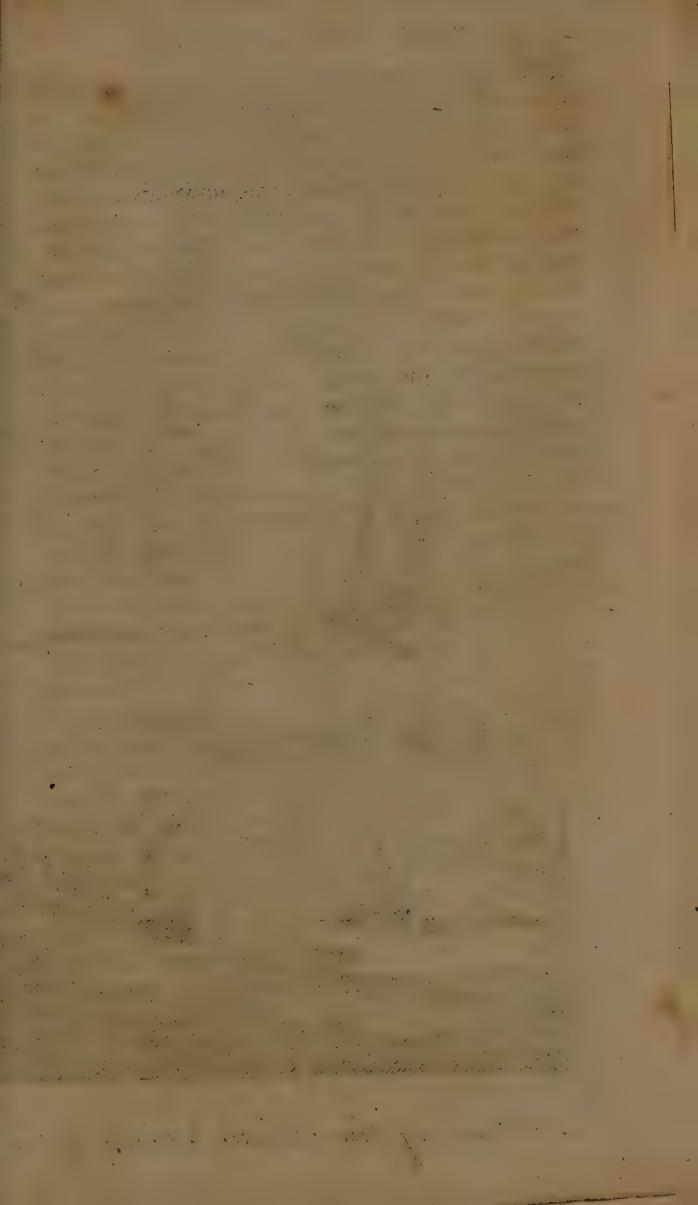
his principal food, wherewith these are adventitious.

From the head to the middle it is very thick, but decreases gradually towards the tail, at the end of which it is about two foot thick, and near twenty-seven feet long in the whole; the tail is often used for a chopping-block, being stronger and better adapted to that purpose than almost any wood; in this, and its fins, which do not stand upright as in other fish when it swims, consists its chief strength. The privities of the male are on the outside, as in four-legged creatures; the yard is near fourteen feet long and one foot thick; those of the female are something like a woman's, and open and shut as occasion requires; she seldom brings forth more than one young one at a time, which follows her every where, and sucks at her breast. The male is between sixty and seventy feet long, and the female is larger than the male.

The sword-fish is common in these seas; it is about two yards and a half long, of great strength, and often, when struck with the harpoon, flies so swiftly and impetuously, that the line is forced to be cut, no boat being able to keep pace with it. This fish is a bitter foe to the whale, which avoids it as much as he possibly can; but numbers of of them attack him at once, and by degrees pull away his fins in which lie his chief strength, while he lashes round him with his tail, and endeavours to break from them, till his strength being exhausted, they enter his mouth and eat out his tongue; and to this cause are owing the many dead whales that are found floating on the surface without tongues.

The unicorn fish is also a professed enemy to the whale, striking its horn as deeply into his side as it will reach, whensoever it chances to meet him.

The whale is generally caught in this manner ; three shallops are sent after him, with six men in each, one of whom carries the harpoon, an instrument hooked and bearded, that it may not slip out again when struck into this unweildy animal ; they keep out of the way of his tail, and either lye on their oars, or skim very gently on, to prevent his hearing them : then the harpooner of that shallop that is most convenient for the work takes aim and lets fly his weapon, which is fastened to a line two hundred fathom long, or more ; this is no sooner felt by the whale, than he dives with such celerity to the bottom, that if the men did not take care to keep the rope wet, which smokes pretty much, it would take fire by rubbing against the boat : there is also a man always upon the watch to give the rope as the whale goes, because, should it chance to be intangled, the boat might be in danger of oversetting. If the line of one boat falls short, it is assisted by that which is next at hand, which lends wherewith to lengthen it ; but all would be little to the purpose, were not the whale compelled to rise for breath, after having run some few hundred fathoms under water, and when he rises, he roars prodigiously, the sound reaching more than half a league. No sooner does he appear upon the surface a second time, than the harpooner strikes him again ; after which stroke, lances, that can be easily drawn out of the wound they make, are thrown at him, with an intention to tire him out, till his strength is exhausted ; for until this is the case, none of the sailors dare venture within reach of his fins or his tail ; then they come nearer, and endeavour to lacerate him under the fins, where he seems to have the greatest sensibility, till having at length struck him either in the lungs or liver, he spurts out blood high as the top-mast head of a very large ship ; upon this effusion he is left to struggle by him-





A View of the Whale Fishery.

himself, when he batters his body with his fins, and strikes the waves with his tail so vigorously, that it sounds like the explosion of a large cannon, and the sea round him is in a foam: all this time he is obliged to remain upon the surface for breath; and the shallops sometimes are forced to follow him for three or four leagues, till having lost his strength, he falls on one side; and as soon as he is dead, turns upon his back; then he is either drawn on shore, or else up to the ship. For the first day he lies even with the surface; the second, he rises six or seven feet above it; and the third, perhaps higher than the sides of the vessel, on board of which there is a man ready to cut him up; and when his belly is opened, there issues out a roaring noise, and a most offensive smell: then the man proceeds to separate the flesh from the bones, and conveys it in pieces of two or three hundred pound weight, either on board or on shore, according to convenience, where it is again cut into smaller pieces, and put into a copper in which the oil is boiled out, and barrelled up to be sent to different nations.

On board of every ship are three harpooners, who have ten pounds each for every whale that is caught, and sometimes one ship catches nine or ten: each fish, upon an average, affords from sixty to an hundred barrels of oil, which sells from three to four pounds per barrel, and sometimes more. For the encouragement of this trade, the parliament of Great Britain have granted a premium of forty shillings for every ton of shipping used by the Greenland traders, an encouragement that has considerably increased the number of ships on that trade within these few years.

C H A P. VI.

The voyage of captain Monk to the Frozen Sea.

NOW that we have given a brief and succinct account of Old and New Greenland, and the whale fishery, we will proceed to the voyage of captain Monk, in search of a north-west passage between Greenland and America to the East-Indies; and we have chosen him, as having been not only one of the best seamen of his time, but also a man of such integrity, that not one who has followed the same course has been since able to contradict him in any one point whatsoever.

Captain Monk was employed upon this expedition by Christian IV. king of Denmark, who supplied him with two stout ships, manned with sixty-four men, to coast along those streights, to which Hudson an Englishman gave his name, who had been, a few years before, destroyed on this coast by his people mutinying.

May the 16th, 1619, Monk left the Sound, and on the 20th of June made Cape Farewel, a rocky land covered with ice and snow, and lying in sixty-two degrees and an half north latitude; thence steering north-west to Hudson's Streights, he was sometimes delayed by the ice, but not damaged, having sea-room enough; what was most remarkable hereabouts was, that one day the wind blew so hard, and was so very cold, that his sails became like a continued piece of ice, and were quite useless; yet the following afternoon was so sultry, that the men were forced to strip off their cloaths, and work in their shirts.

July the 17th he arrived in Hudson's Streights, to which, in honour of his Danish majesty, he gave

gave the name of Christiern's Streights, and landed in an island directly opposite to Greenland, where some of his people taking a view of the country, could discover the footsteps of men, tho' they saw no other appearance of them. However, some came in sight the next day, who seemed surpris'd at the Danes, and advanced towards them in a friendly manner, keeping still a watchful eye on their arms, which they had hid beneath an heap of stones; from which the Danes contrived to cut them off, a piece of policy that gave the poor savages vast uneasiness, they begging, in a most suppliant manner, to have them restored; and by signs giving to understand, they had no other livelihood or subsistence. Their entreaties were at length successful, the Danes not only restoring them their arms, but also presenting them with some trifling toys; for which favours they expressed their gratitude, by bringing down to the ships several sorts of fish and fowl.

A small looking-glass being presented to one of them, he seemed overjoyed at the acquisition; and having viewed himself in it two or three times, hugged it close to his bosom, and then ran away as fast as possible, as if he feared they would take it from him.

These poor people treated, with particular marks of respect, one of Monk's people, who had long black hair, and was of a swarthy complexion, not unlike themselves, imagining perhaps that he was a native of the place, carried thence in his infant years to Denmark, and this distinction afforded a good deal of diversion to the rest of his brother tars.

On the 22d of July he left this island entirely, but was obliged, on account of the many ice shoals, to come to anchor on the 28th, between two islands where there was some shelter; here he brought his
ships

ships as close to the shore of one of them as possible, and even there it required prodigious industry to protect them from being damaged by the ice, that was hourly driven against them by the waves. In this place they found some good talc, of which they carried off several tons. There were many small islands thereabouts, but the sea ran too high for them to venture at landing. They lie in sixty-two degrees and twenty minutes, about fifty leagues within Hudson's Straights; and Monk called the bay wherein he anchored Hareford, from the great number of hares that were to be met with there.

August the 10th he left this station, steering west south-west, with the wind at north-west, and the next day came to the south of the streights of America, and anchored near a large island covered with snow, which he therefore called Snow Island.

He left this on the 20th of August, and steered north-west and west north-west to Hudson's bay, till he arrived in sixty-three degrees twenty minutes, where he determined to winter, calling the place New Denmark, and the part in which he was, Monk's Winter harbour. Here his ships were hawled up in a little creek, where they were sheltered from the inclemency of the weather; after which precaution his people proceeded to erect huts for their winter-residence, near a river that was not froze in October, when all the surrounding seas were bound in ice.

October the 7th, captain Monk would have gone up the river in a boat, but was prevented by a water-fall, but he made an incursion of four leagues into the country in search of inhabitants, to no purpose, and then returned to his ships by another road. In his way he met with an image cut upon stone, which had claws and horns like a devil, and near it were about eight feet of ground walled in by lesser stones; on one side of which lay an
heap

heap of small flat stones, intermixed with moss of trees; and on the other three coals laid across, upon a large flat stone supported by two others, and somewhat like an altar: he afterwards met several other piles of this sort; and near them the marks of human feet; notwithstanding which, he could not come in sight of any inhabitants. It is not improbable that in these places they offered sacrifice, either to, or with fire, as many bones lay generally near them, belonging to the victim perhaps, on whose raw flesh it may be that the sacrificers fed. Here were also some muzzled dogs, and stumps of trees, from examining which they appeared to have been cut at the roots by iron instruments; also holes in the ground, which appeared to have been formed to receive poles belonging to tents, and many pieces of skins of bears, wolves, sea-calves, &c. which, it is supposed, are the cloathing of the inhabitants, who from these things Monk inferred led a vagrant life, like the people of Tartary and Lapland.

Having run up compact huts, and laid in store of wood and wild-fowl for the winter, Monk was lucky enough to kill a white bear with his own hand, of the flesh of which he and his people ate; nor did it disagree with them in the least. They had also plenty of hares, partridges, and other fowls, besides black foxes and fables.

C H A P. VII.

Monk loses all his crew, two people excepted, by the cold, and at length returns to Denmark: conceals a second expedition to the Northern Sea; but catches his death from an odd circumstance.

NOVEMBER 27th they saw what they imagined to be three suns, and two on the 24th of January; and on the 10th of December old style, about eight o' clock at night, was a lunar eclipse; soon after which the moon was surrounded by a very bright circle, and intersected by a cross. This phenomenon seemed a forerunner of the evils that afterwards befel them.

The cold began now to grow so very severe, that neither beer, wine, nor brandy could resist it, but were frozen up, and the vessels that contained them were split into pieces; so that before they could use them, they were obliged to hew them with hatchets, and melt them before the fire: nay, they saw ice three hundred and sixty feet thick: nor were the Danes able to resist, with all their art and contrivance, this severe invader; for they were carried off, one after another so fast, by a griping looseness, that in the beginning of March the captain himself was obliged to stand sentry in his turn for want of hands.

In the spring, the sickness of those who survived grew worse; their teeth loosening and their gums swelling, so that they could take no nourishment but bread and water; soon after which malady a most inveterate scurvy added new weight to their afflictions; and in May they died so fast, that there were not hands sufficient left behind to inter them; and those were scarce able to move with weakness and disorder: to complete their woes their bread
failed

failed them ; in the room of which they dug raspberries from under the snow ; but these became useless if not presently consumed.

The first rain they had seen in seven months was on the 12th of April ; and about the end of May they had wild-geese, ducks, swans, swallows, partridges, ravens, snipes, falcons and eagles ; but it was not in their power to catch any of them, they were so debilitated.

June the 4th, Monk himself fell dangerously ill, and was four days without taking any sustenance ; during which time he made his will, entreating whatsoever person should chance to come that way, to see him buried, and transmit his journal to the king of Denmark : however, on the 8th he grew stronger, and crept out of his hut to see if any of his ship's crew were left alive ; and he found only two surviving out of sixty-four. These, overjoyed to find their captain had escaped so many calamities, carried him to a fire, and refreshed him ; and the three encouraged one another with assurances of mutual assistance to the last gasp. The ice now began to melt, and among the snow they chanced to find a root which proved a great restorative, as well as excellent food, strengthening them very considerably ; and they applied themselves to fishing and hunting, an exercise which brought them quite to themselves, and they now began to think of returning home.

The summer season, which approached, brought with it plenty of gnats that pestered them extremely ; nevertheless, they got on board their smaller ship, leaving the other behind, and hoisted sail ; but they were incommoded greatly by the ice, and lost their boat and rudder : however, the former they recovered by chance, ten days after, and they supplied the other loss by making a new rudder. They
were

were often entangled among the ice, but were still released by the changeableness of the weather.

On the 8th of September, having cleared the Streights and Cape Farewel, and reached the main ocean, they were assailed by a violent tempest that brought their mast by the board; and it was not without great difficulty they preserved their sails from being washed into the sea. However, they at last made shift to reach the coast of Norway, where they anchored in a small creek; and here, as the storm continued, they would certainly have been dashed to pieces had they not luckily put in between the rocks and the land. Having refreshed themselves a few days, they pursued their voyage to Denmark, where they shortly after arrived; and captain Monk, whom no body expected ever to see alive, was received by the king with great marks of favour, his majesty being well satisfied with his endeavours.

Captain Monk, who was a man of an undaunted spirit, as well as an excellent mathematician, having always after his return insisted upon the possibility of discovering a north-west passage, was at length employed by some of the Danish nobility, and several rich merchants of Norway to attempt it, having raised a good joint stock to defray the expences of his voyage; but he was unfortunately prevented, and the design entirely ruined by an accident not to be foreseen.

In a conference which Monk had with the king, concerning the misfortunes of his former voyage, and his new enterprize, his majesty observed, that he had already occasioned the loss of too many brave fellows, to hazard it again. This was a sarcasm, which Monk imagined his perseverance and skill had not in the least deserved; and he replied, in a manner that the king thought disrespectful, who thereupon gave him a slight blow on the
breast

breast with his stick, by way of repulse; an indignity which affected him so strongly, that he went home directly and pined to death in three days, during which he refused all manner of nourishment. Nor do we find that the Danes have made any farther advances towards this discovery since that time, tho' indisputably no nation in Europe is so well adapted to the undertaking as Denmark.

End of the THIRD Volume.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general
discussion of the problem of the origin of life.
The author discusses the various theories which have
been advanced to explain the origin of life, and
concludes that the most probable theory is that
life originated in the ocean.

